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THE BURKE EFFIGY, GLINSK, COUNTY GALWAY.

H. S. Crawford, *photo*

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THE HISTORY

OF THE

COUNTY OF MAYO

TO THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

BY

HUBERT THOMAS KNOX

M.R.I.A., F.R.S.A.I.

FORMERLY OF THE MADRAS CIVIL SERVICE

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PREFACE.

In this first History of the County some errors must be expected, but I trust that they will be found to be very few as to matters of fact. Some opinions are new, for which general acceptance cannot be expected at once, but it is my hope that such readers as study the evidence for themselves will agree with me, if not wholly, to a great extent.

The fulness of the parts dealing with the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and again of those dealing with the latter half of the sixteenth century, as compared with the part relating to the intervening two hundred years, is due to the want of full English Records after the King ceased to govern in Connaught.

Ecclesiastical affairs are passed over lightly, because they have been dealt with already in my "Notes on the Dioceses of Tuam and Killala and Achonry," published when I did not expect to finish this history, for which they were prepared.

If the Genealogical Tables seem unnecessary in number, and inclusive of names not wanted for this book, it is because it is impossible to understand fully the alliances of clans and tribes and their quarrels, external and internal, without a knowledge of the family relationships in which they usually originated. These tables are, generally, not accessible in print, and they will be necessary to those who carry on the history of the Mayo families into the next century.

My thanks are due to His Grace the Archbishop of

Canterbury for leave to publish parts of the "Division of Connaught and Thomond, 1574."

To the Librarian of Trinity College, Dublin, for leave to use the translations of the "Historia et Genealogia Familiæ de Burgo."

To the Council of the Royal Irish Academy for leave to use extracts from "MacFirbis's Great Book of Genealogies."

To the Council of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland for the loan of the blocks of the Maps in pp. 326, 328, 338.

To the Controller of His Majesty's Stationery Office for leave to quote from the Irish Annals, the Calendars, and other publications of that office.

To Mr. H. S. Crawford for the use of his photograph of the Glinsk Effigy of William Burke.

To the representative of the late Rev. D. Murphy for leave to quote from his "Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell."

H. T. KNOX.

March 2, 1908.

ABBREVIATIONS.

A.C. = Annals of Clonmacnoise (Murphy's Edition). Volume of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

A.I. = Annals of Innisfallen in O'Conor's "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres."

A.T. = Annals of Tigernach in *Revue Celtique.*

A.U. = Annals of Ulster. Rolls Series.

C. = Chief or king of tribe.

C.S. = Chronicum Scotorum. Rolls Series.

D.F. = Annals of Duald MacFirbis in Miscellany of Irish Archæological Society, vol. i.

D.I. = Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, 1172–1307.

D.K. = Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, Ireland.

F.M. = Annals of the Four Masters (O'Donovan's Translation).

Hist. et Gen. = Historia et Genealogia Familiæ de Burgo. *See* Appendix.

H.F. = Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach (O'Donovan's Translation).

K.C., K.I. = King of Connaught, King of Ireland.

L.C. = Annals of Loch Cé. Rolls Series.

O.S.L.M. = Ordnance Survey Letters, County Mayo.

P.R. = Plea Rolls in the Public Record Office, Dublin.

R.S.A.I. = Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, including its earlier titles.

S.P.I.E. = State Papers, Ireland, Queen Elizabeth. In the Public Record Office, London. In the Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, Henry VIII., &c. In a few cases the originals have been used.

S.T.L. = Stokes's Edition of the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick. Rolls Series.

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THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF MAYO.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLIEST LEGENDS.

MEN who used the Paleolithic tools once inhabited these countries, but it is supposed that a gap due to change of climate separated them from those of the Neolithic, or Polished Stone, Period. The first race identified in Ireland is the Iberian, known to have inhabited nearly all France, the British Isles, Spain, and the north-western parts of Africa, now recognised in the Basques, the Guanches of the Canary Isles, and the Berbers of Morocco. They are the foundation upon which have settled strata of Celts, Scandinavians, and English, and are held to be the element which supplies the people with black hair, blue or grey eyes, sallow complexions, and fine features.

To them are attributed the dolmens or cromlechs; the stone circles, mounds, and cairns with small cists to the Celts. These forms pass into each other and are combined, as each race was influenced by the practices of the other and by change of fashion. The great chambered cairns seem to be the greatest result of the combination of both styles, and to have fallen out of use before the historic or even legendary period, being supplanted by burial in cists in small mounds and raths. Cremation was in use when they were made. They are unsuitable for disposal of unburnt bodies.

The earliest monuments show burnt remains, then a period of burial, followed by burning and burial. The practices were to some extent contemporaneous as new fashions came in. There is some indication that burning was practised even up to the Christian period, but it must have been rare, as the legends and annals do not clearly refer to it.

Upon the Iberians came the Celts from the countries about the Danube and Central Germany, occupying France, Northern Italy, a great part of Spain, and the British Isles. These were the Gael or Cruithne, who were long afterwards followed by the British Celts who

supplanted them in Northern France and nearly all England, but made no settlements in Ireland, or only small colonies which were absorbed by the Gael.

The Gael of Ireland were a long-headed race. The monuments testify to the settlement of round-headed men in Ireland, whom Mr. Borlase identifies as the Celtæ of Cæsar, who must have been few in number, as they have not left marked traces in the population, and are known only by their skulls in tumuli.[1]

The Iberian population had lost its identity before the period of the oldest legends, which never mention such a race as extant in Ireland. The ancient Irish historians identified the dark type with the Firbolg, but this identification does not show the existence of a separate race, because their legends show a common descent of Firbolg, Tuatha De Danann, and Milesians.

The best opinion seems to be that the Celts came to these isles about 1250 B.C., bringing bronze into Ireland, if the Iberians had not already got it by trade, as is most probable. The second Celtic invasion of Britain is assigned to the fourth century B.C. Iron had come into use somewhat earlier.

The Dolmens are of almost any period before history. The cairns of New Grange, Dowth, and Lough Crew are believed by Mr. Coffey, on evidence of ornament inscribed on stone, to range from about 800 to 300 B.C. Thus they would coincide with the coming of the Gael in their beginning, and in their end with the introduction of new fashions into Britain by the Belgic Celts.

No credit can be given to the ancient history of invasions of Ireland by Parthalon, Nemed, Firbolg, Tuatha De Danann, and Milesians. At most these invasions represent vague legends of early Celtic migration. Examination shows that they deal with events which occurred when the Gael had been long established in the land, and were broken up into clans as in the historical period, and that those events were of local rather than national importance.

The Fomorians were northern families who took their name from an ancestor named Fomor. The name appears in the pedigree of the Irian race of Ulster. They are the same as the Uladh of later legend. The Tuatha De Danann were clans of Meath and Connaught, ancestors of the Delbna, Cianachta, Luighne, and Gailenga of later times. They were acknowledged to be related to the Domnonians by descent from Nemed, who descended from Partholan's brother.

The Domnonians are called Firbolg, a name of obscure meaning which comprises Danonians, though it came to be restricted to the Firdomnonn, Firgaileoin, and Firbolg. I cannot find that the last named had any distinct existence, unless the general name stuck to a

[1] Borlase, "Dolmens of Ireland," p. 1012.

clan of the Domnonians, being abandoned by others in favour of new names, the usual course in subdivision of Irish royal families. The only trace I find of it is in the Bolg Tuath of Badgna. D. MacFirbis tells us that the Bolg Tuath, the Gabry of the Suck, the Cathry, and the Cruithne of Croghan were descendants of Genann, son of Dela.[1] The Firgaileoin are identified without doubt as Tuatha De Danann of Meath and as Cruithne.

If I am right in recognising the Delbna, Luighne, and Gailenga as Danonians, their distribution in Meath and Connaught, the traditional descent of Danonians and Domnonians, and the evidence of the legends combine to prove that they were two great clans of the Gael, who fought with each other and with the Fomorach for supremacy in these provinces and in Leinster, and that there was no more difference between them than between Hy Neill, Hy Briuin, and Hy Fiachrach of history.

All these tribes are of the same great Cruithne race, which includes the Irian race of Ulster, and is the Gael of Ireland. In later times the Milesians arrogated to themselves the name of Gael.

The Milesian pedigree before the fourth century is untrustworthy. It is likely that a man of the Domnonian royal family of Connaught or Meath went to Spain, and acquired distinction and the name of Miled of Spain in the wars between the Celts and the Romans, or between the Celts themselves. Miled is an Irish form of Miles, and translates Galam, his Irish name. His sons may have returned to Ireland. So far there is nothing improbable. He has been utilised in making up Milesian genealogies, largely fictitious, but probably made up of names of real persons available in tradition. The true ancestry of Eochy Feidhlech is Domnonian. Tuathal Techtmar was a scion of one of the branches of the Domnonian royal family of Connaught. When it acquired pre-eminence a pedigree was worked up, and many of the great families which maintained their position were in course of time grafted on it, and so lost their real and greater connection. The quarrels of the three great tribes having ended in Domnonian supremacy, the Domnonians themselves were partly turned into Eremonians, and partly disavowed and stigmatised as Firbolgs and Attacots.[2]

Mayo seldom appears in these legends. But it was a large part of the kingdom of Irrusdomnonn, which, as defined by Keating, extended from the River of Galway to the River Drowse, and seems to have been the dwelling-place of the Gamanry clan.

Though the stories of invasions of Ireland and the dates assigned by Irish historians must be set aside, I see no reason to doubt that

[1] "Hist. of Firbolgs." Quoted by Borlase, "Dolmens of Ireland," iii. 1117.
[2] For reason, see Appendix.

the main events are generally accurately marshalled according to relative dates, and that they embody some historical facts.

Partholan killed in battle Cical Grigencosach, great-grandson of Uadmor, who is said to have landed at Inver Domnonn, now Broadhaven Bay, twenty years after Partholan according to some historians, to have been in Ireland before him according to others. He and his people are called Fomorach, but I take that to be because the historians found no tribe name but that of Fomorach in the earliest legends, and did not recognise Clann Umoir as then in existence. We may take Cical to have been a king of Irrusdomnonn, a MacUmoir.

Nemed next appears fighting with Fomorach, whom he defeated in three battles, one being at Ros Fhraochain in Connaught, said by O'Donovan to be Rosreaghan in Murrisk in this county, a place which I cannot identify. There he slew Gann and Genann, two of their chiefs. Afterwards the Fomorach got the better of the Nemedians, whom they cruelly oppressed. Rivalry may be inferred between the clan of Nemed and that of Umoir for the sovereignty of Connaught, or perhaps for that of Ireland, which the latter now held for a time. It does not appear who Partholan and Nemed were. The indications point to chieftains of a great family living to the east of Irrusdomnonn, probably the ruling family in Connaught and Meath, from which came the Tuatha De Danann.

It is impossible to give any kind of date to these legends except that they are a shadow of events which occurred before the battles of Moytura, which may be dated as not long before the beginning of the Christian era.

The Nemedians appear again as the Firbolgs, who invade Ireland under the command of the five sons of Dela and divide all Ireland among themselves, Connaught falling to Genann. The fact is that they appear as settled in Ireland, in Meath and Connaught, and that members of the family are said to have held the chief sovereignty for thirty-seven years. Their last High King, Eochaidh MacErca, made Tara the residence of the High King of Ireland. The other branches of the clan of Nemed, the Tuatha De Danann, appear and challenge the supremacy. The Danonians, having landed on the coast of Sligo according to the legend, encamped on Slievanierin. When the Firbolg under King Eochaidh prepared to meet them, they went to the west and took up a position in front of Mount Belgadan, now called Benlevi, that is at Cong, to the west of Magh Nia, the Plain of Heroes, now called Moytura. It is a curious feature that they are given as an ally Aengabha, King of Iruaithe, which has always been translated Norway, the usual meaning of the word. He played a distinguished part in the battle. In this case Iruaithe did not mean Norway, but

the Irish kingdom of Herota or Hirota, which was about Galway,[1] where we find in later days two Delbhna clans.

The battle began on midsummer day. On the second day Eochaidh left the field with 100 men to get water. The three sons of Nemed, son of Badrai, and 150 men chased him to the Strand of Ballysadare, where Eochaidh and the sons of Nemed were killed in fight. Eochaidh was buried where he fell, and a great monument was raised over him, which existed until the nineteenth century. The sons of Nemed were buried at the west end of the Strand, where the flagstones of the sons of Nemed were set up over them.

After four days' battle the Firbolg were reduced to 300 men under Sreng, son of Sengann. Being outnumbered, they accepted peace, which left them the province of Connaught. Thus the Danonians acquire the sovereignty of Ireland.

Though the monuments of Moytura Cong have been assigned to various persons slain in this battle, and Moytura Cong has been accepted as the site, there are good reasons for believing that the battle was fought in Coillte Luighne, near another Cong, a denomination of land discovered by Col. Wood-Martin in an old survey. That site agrees with the position of the Carn of Eochy and the flagstones of Nemed's sons, and the explanation of the name of L. Key given by Gilla Isu Mor Mac Firbisigh in the beginning of the fifteenth century. His opinion deserves great respect, and the Cong site does not fit in with these incidents and traditions. Unfortunately we cannot place much reliance on identification of monuments, but it is a matter of some significance that the writer of the Tale of the First Battle accepted the Strand of Ballysadare as the scene of his death. Yet on the whole the matter must remain in doubt, for a king who ran away from Cong may have been followed up and killed near Ballysadare.

The second battle of Moytura does not concern Mayo directly. It was between Danonians and Ulster men called Fomorach, aided by some Domnonians, who are called Firbolg ancestors of the Clann Umoir. No doubt some Clann Umoir men were concerned, but the legend does not give their names.

The Danonian supremacy is said to have lasted 197 years. It must have lasted long, as so many families which I class as Danonian were settled in Meath and Connaught, but it may have been before as well as after the first battle of Moytura.

The sons of Miled and their cousins, the sons of Ith, now appear, called collectively Clanna Breogain, and the Tuatha De Danann disappear as ruling families, but survive in legend as fairies.

The Milesians spread quickly over all Ireland except Connaught, whose Domnonian kings acknowledged the supremacy of the High

[1] Professor Bury in *English Hist. Review*, April 1902, p. 264.

King of Tara. They were divided into four great branches, called the races of Eremon, Ir, Eber, and Ith. The Irish genealogists of later times called all the families whose pedigrees they did not carry up to one of these races by the names of Firbolg and Attacot.

What seem to me to be the true relations between the Domnonians, Eremonians, Milesians, Firbolgs, and Attacots are set out in Appendix I., but for practical purposes of history it is convenient to call the tribes by their well-known names, and to accept the tribal grouping which accords with their relations among themselves, though the supposed origins be not true.

Our knowledge now becomes more definite. Connaught is recognised as comprising three divisions, without very distinct boundaries, and under three ruling families, whose history can be traced for three hundred years, and even to this day if they have been transformed into Milesians as I suppose.

Fidach, son of Fiach, was King of the Fir Craibe, whose kingdom was South Connaught from Limerick, that is from the mouth of the Shannon, to the Palace of Fidach. O'Flaherty mentions the "Palace of Fidach," Keating only "Fidach," as the boundary. The place is not known, but as it was a boundary between the Fir Craibe and the Tuatha Taiden, we shall not be far wrong if we take it to have been a place near the northern and eastern border of Aidhne.

Eochaidh Allat was King of the Gamanry, over the kingdom of Irrusdomnonn, comprising Clann Umoir tribes north of Aidhne, in the kingdom of the Hy Briuin Seola, and the lands afterwards of the Conmaicne in the county of Galway, all the counties of Mayo and Sligo, with the lands of the Gregry and Calry in the counties of Roscommon and Leitrim, according to the bounds given, from the River of Galway to the rivers Duff and Drowse. But we must believe that most of the minor clans gave but slight allegiance to the Gamanry in the period now opening, as so great a kingdom would have always predominated in Connaught if its tribes had acted together. The bounds are likely to have been handed down by very ancient tradition, and I should take it to have been really the county of Mayo and the countries of the Calry at this time.

Tinni, son of Curaidh, was King of the Tuatha Taiden, whose kingdom comprised the Plain of Sanb, not identified, and the lands of the Tuatha Taiden, from the Palace of Fidach towards Tara. It seems to represent what was afterwards the great kingdom of Hy Many in its largest extent, and may have included the country afterwards called the Three Tuatha and most of Magh Ai.

The Fir Craibe are the chief family of the Clann Umoir, who occupied nearly all their kingdom and part of that of Irrusdomnonn. From this family came Brian, ancestor of the Hy Briuin of Ai, who

has been given a false pedigree, and the Conmaicne and Ciarraige tribes of Connaught, except the Conmaicne of Moyrein and Annaly, who were not in Connaught as known in early times.

The Gamanry and the Clan Morna branch I believe to be the ancestors of the northern Hy. Fiachrach, whose Fiachra ancestor has been wrongly identified with the Fiachra ancestor of the Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, who have been made descendants of his grandson, Eochaidh Breac. The Hy Fiachrach Aidhne seem to be of the Clann Umoir race from which Brian sprang. In O'Conors, O'Dowdas, O'Kellys, and O'Heynes, we may recognise these ancient families.

Fir Craibe, Gamanry, and Tuatha Taiden are called Olnegmacht, whence the early name of the province of Connaught.

The detailed reasons for these views will be found in the Appendix, and an explanation of the manner in which the royal families changed their tribal names, and developed fresh territorial groups, is set out in an article in the *Journal of the Galway Archæological and Historical Society*, vol. iv. p. 99.

Some probably historical facts relating to Mayo in this period may be gleaned from legends and references in the poems recounting the exploits of the Red Branch Heroes and the great wars between Ulster and Connaught. The wars seem to be historical, and the principal persons may be taken to have existed, though there is great doubt regarding their relations with each other.

Eochaidh Feidhlech and his brother, Eochaidh Airemh, who succeeded him as King of Ireland according to the poets and annalists, seem to have been kings of Meath and Teffa, a branch of the Domnonians of Connaught which sank about this time, but revived under Tuathal Techtmar.

Eochaidh Allat, King of the Gamanry, was King of Connaught at this period, and is reputed to have built Rathcroghan, which was called from him Rath Eochaidh. This must refer to the great Rath of Croghan, as the place seems to have been for many ages held by the Domnonian kings of Connaught, as the earliest Milesians and some of the Danonians are said to have been buried in the Releg of Croghan.[1]

Tinni, son of Curaidh, King of the Tuatha Taiden, killed Eochaidh Allat, and became King of Connaught.

Eochaidh Allat was succeeded by Ailill Finn as King of the Gamanry—that is, of Irrusdomnonn. Their relationship does not appear. Ailill is said to have married Flidais, daughter of Ailill Dubh, son of Fidach, son of Fiach. Ailill's ancestry is uncertain,

[1] The name of Cruachan seems to be drawn from the high mound which formed a kind of citadel within the great rath, the Little Peak or Rick. From such a citadel Cruachan came to be used as a name for a king's fort (*Jl. R.S.A.I.*, xxxi. p. 35).

except that his mother was Magu of Murrisk. Her pedigree is equally unknown. She is stated to have married Ailill, son of Cairbre Fir da Loch,[1] and Cairbre Cennderg.[2] Her seven sons were men of note, namely, Ailill Finn, Cet, Anluan, Mogcorb, Toca, Scandal, Anfind, Fergal. There is much confusion in pedigrees from identity of names. Magu may have been the name of many other women. Her daughter, or the daughter of a Magu, by name Mata, was mother of Cairbre Niafer and of Finn File and of Ailill, King of Leinster, who has been confused with Ailill, the husband of Queen Meave. Fergal is said to have married a daughter of Eochaidh Feidhlech.

Tinni married the celebrated Meave, Medb, daughter of Eochaidh Feidhlech, who after his death married Ailill Mor, King of the Tuatha Taiden, who succeeded Tinni as King of Connaught. In their time occurred the Tain Bo Cuailgne. Several Ailill Mors of this period have been confused.

Fergus MacRoigh, having been driven out of Ulster, was received by Ailill and Meave, and played a principal part on behalf of Connaught in the War of the Tain. He comes into Mayo history only if the Tale of the Tain Bo Flidais be based on fact, according to which Fergus started from Croghan to attack Ailill Finn's dun, which was in the country of Cairbre in the north of the Ciarraige, and was reached immediately after passing over Ath Féni. The situation answers to that of Ailech Mor at Castlemore Costello. Fergus killed Ailill and his sons, and carried off Flidais and her cattle.

Though Ailill of the Gamanry was in that dun, it does not follow that it was the heritable property of the Gamanry clan. He may have occupied it only as King of Irrusdomnonn.

Ferdiad was a warrior of distinction, second only to Cuchulain, who was his greatest friend since the days when they were together in Scathach's military school in Scotland. Meave induces him, much against his will, to engage in duel with Cuchulain, who is defending the ford. Cuchulain kills him after a long fight, and the ford is called after him Ath Firdiad, Ardee to-day. He is called MacDaire MacDaman, chief of the clan Dega, a branch of the Gamanry. In Mr. O'Grady's "History of Ireland in the Heroic Period," he is said to have lived at Moytura, described as the seat of the kings of Irrusdomnonn, "where they held their games and solemn assemblies and interred their kings." If Mr. O'Grady has found this distinctly stated in a legend, it follows that some of the Gamanry were settled in the country afterwards occupied by Conmaicne, and the fair of Ballinchalla may have originated in those games.

The Clann Umoir appear in these legends in a curious way. The

[1] O'Flaherty, "Ogygia," p. 269.
[2] "Death of Sons of Usnech," Irische Texte, 2nd series, Pt. II.

story handed down thus is that they are Firbolg who went to the Western Isles of Scotland after the first battle of Moytura, and about this time returned to Ireland and were allowed by Cairbre Niafer to settle in the best parts of Breg upon agreements to pay rent, Conall Cearnach and Cuchulain of Ulster, Cet MacMagach of Connaught, and Curoi MacDare of Munster or Leinster being their sureties. They throw up their tenancies, and are allowed by Queen Meave to settle in Connaught, where they built the great drystone forts. Their sureties, being called upon by Cairbre, attack them and kill each a chieftain. This seems to point to a real event, that before Cairbre Niafer's time the Clann Umoir—that is, the race of Fiach or Fir Craibe—had been for a time dominant in Breg and had settled some families there, who in his time were driven out or subdued, as I have suggested more fully in Appendix I. These stories evidently were invented after the growth of the Milesian legend to explain the presence of MacUmoirs in Breg and in Westmeath. The attack on them is useless, as it leaves matters as they were. But the stories show their presence along the western seaboard of Connaught at this very early period.

A Medon of this clan is supposed to have given his name to Inishmaine, and I suppose to Mag Medoin, or the country about Inishmaine and Kilmaine.

At the death of Ailill Mor a war of succession ensued. His son Maine Aithremal, supported by the people of Croghan; the Tuatha Taiden, the Fir Craibe, and others, defeated Sanb, son of Cet Mac Magach, supported by the descendants of Magach, the Clann Umoir, and others. The Fir Craibe were of the Clann Umoir, but I take them to be a tribe of that race which had developed into a group of clans like the Silmurray, and that a number of the old clans retaining the old tribe name supported Sanb. We know that in later times Clann Umoir occupied much of Sanb's kingdom of Irrusdomnonn. Maine reigned for thirty-four years.

Sanb succeeded him as King of Connaught. For these events in Connaught, O'Flaherty's "Ogygia" is my chief authority, considered with extant legends and tales, and modified in accordance with my own interpretation.

The events known as the Attacottic Revolutions fell out in the period between the death of Meave and the accession of Tuathal in A.D. 130. In my opinion, much of the confusion and obscurity of the accounts of these events is due to the attempts of the Irish historians to reconcile Eremonian genealogy and legend with facts which they could not ignore, that Firbolg kings reigned at this period in countries which Eremonians should have held. Tuathal Techtmar emerges as king of a new and great kingdom of Meath, and history becomes less obscure.

The Attacots of Irish history are not the Attacots of Roman history. Attacotti seems to represent the Irish words Aitec tuata, which O'Curry translates, "rent-paying tribes." I prefer "tributary tribes," as O'Curry's explanation does not restrict the meaning to rent in our sense of the term. The Roman Attacotti seem to have been Celtic clans dwelling south of the wall of Antoninus, who submitted to the Roman Empire, and in the period of its weakness in the fourth century made raids on the Empire in company with the Picts, who were the Gael or Cruithne of Alba living north of the wall, and the Scots, who were ruling families of the Irish. Aitec tuata distinguished them from the free tribes of the same race to north of the wall.

The Irish writers called all clans not descended from Breogan by this name, and applied it to members of the Clanna Breogain who had lost rank in various ways. According to this classification all the Domnonian kings were Attacots, and so were all the provincial kings during the revolutionary period except the kings of Ulster.

Cairbre Cinnchait, who was made King of Ireland on the first occasion, seems to be Cairbre, son of Maine, King of the Tuatha Taiden.

On the second occasion, Sanb, King of Connaught, is said to have taken part in setting up Elim, King of Ulster, as King of Ireland.

Tuathal Techtmar now appears, alleged to have taken refuge with his grandfather, the King of Alba, and to have landed in Irrusdomnonn with a large force from Alba. Fiachaidh Caisinn, who had been levying war against Elim, joined him. This Fiachaidh is called a Son of Donn Desach—that is, an O'Conmaic. They killed Elim near Tara, and afterwards killed Sanb at Duma Selca in Mag Ai, when Sanb was in extreme old age. Eochy, son of Cairbre, was made King of Connaught in his place. Eochy is the last of the Tuatha Taiden, or Hy Maine race, who is recognised as King of Connaught. Tuathal is said to have fought battles in Ceara and Umall and Cruachan Aigle, among 133 battles fought all over Ireland in subduing Attacots.

He seems to have revived the power of the Domnonian or Firbolg clans of Meath. Those clans I suspect to have been those called Delbhna and Luighne and Cianachta, or cognate tribes. Unless all known facts of Irish history are disregarded, he must have been head of a group of clans. I take him to have been the representative of the Danonian kings, the head of the Tuatha De Danann branch of the Domnonian or Firbolg race in Meath. He died about the year A.D. 160.

He is said to have transplanted Attacottic tribes about Ireland. This also is not easy to believe. The Book of Ballymote and Duald MacFirbis give lists of forty-six Free Tribes who were extinguished by the Rent-paying Tribes, and of forty-seven Rent-paying Tribes,

and the positions occupied by the latter, whereof I give so much as concerns Irrusdomnonn and the adjoining countries, from O'Sullivan's Introduction to O'Curry's "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish," I. p. xxvii.

"The Rent-paying Tribes were distributed throughout all Eriu, and the bondage rule of the lords of Eriu was established over them after they had distributed them, *ut est hic*. . . .

"Tuath Sen Cheneoil in Northern Ui Maine. The Tuath Concobarni and of the Sons of Umor upon Ui Briuin, and around Loch Cimé, and in Cluain Fuiche. Tuath Resen upon the Conmaicni, from Ath Mogho to the sea. The Tuath Mic Umor in Umall. Tuath Fer Domnann in the country of Ceara and in Ui Amalgad, and in Ui Fiachrach North, from the Rodb to the Congnaig in Carpri of Dromcliabh. Tuath Cruithnech in Magh Aei, and Magh Lurg, from Loch Cé to Brogail, and to the Shannon.

"Tuath Crecraighe in Luighni of Connacht and around Loch Techad, and about Corann and about Bernas of Tir Oililla, as far as Magh Turedh."

Tuath Resen appear in another part of the list as Tuath Resent Umoir.

The allegation that conquered tribes were moved shows us that Cromwell's policy of transplantation into Connaught was an attempt to govern Ireland according to Irish ideas, though he did not adopt the policy for popularity's sake, and does not appear to have absorbed other Irish ideas of government.

After Sanb the kings of Irrusdomnonn disappear from the list of kings of Connaught until Aid, son of Garad, who is the last recognised Domnonian king.

After the death of Eochy, son of Cairbre, five generations of kings of Connaught of the Fir Craibe race are recognised.

Irrusdomnonn and Mayo drop out of sight for a time.

Conn Cedcathach set up Crimthann Culbuide as King of Leinster. Cumall deposed him. Conn called in Conall Cruachna (K.C.), and Aedh MacMorna, the chief of the Gamanry. They defeated Cumall and his Munster allies in the battle of Cnucha, where Aedh killed Cumall, but lost an eye, whence he was called Goll.

Eogan Mor, *alias* Mogh Nuadhat, and his father, Mogh Neid, King of Munster, attacked Conn, who was joined by the same allies. In a battle in Magh Siuil, in Northern Eile, Goll killed Mogh Neid. They followed Eogan to Carnbuide, supposed to be near Cork, where Eogan was defeated again by Goll and Conall, whom he tried to surprise in camp. Eogan fled to Spain, and Munster was divided between two kings, Conaire and MacNiadh.

After nine years Eogan came again with 2000 Spaniards. The

kings of Munster submitted to him. The King of Leinster joined them. The two kings of Ulster attacked Conn, who abandoned Tara and joined his allies in Connaught. Eogan came by Athlone into Magh Ai. Conn and his allies encamped at the Mound of the Well of Tulsk, opposite to Eogan. Conn there made peace by accepting Eogan's terms, that he should have half of Ireland. Thus originated the division of Ireland into Leath Cuinn and Leath Mogha.

Eogan's Spaniards wanted to go home. Eogan feared that without them he could not make head against Conn, so picked a quarrel by making extortionate demands, denounced the peace, and assembled his forces at Magh Leana, round Tullamore in King's County. Eochy Muinderg, King of Ulster, attacked Tara. Conn returned from Connaught with Conall Cruachna's sons, Eochy Whiteknee and Fiachaidh Whitehand, sons of Crimhthann Culbuide, King of Aichill and Umall, and of Gairech, daughter of Criomall, and other allies, and saved Tara by defeating and killing Eochy. Thence they marched to Magh Leana. Eogan's force was so much the larger that Conn asked for terms and offered to surrender Ulster and keep only Connaught and Teffa and the profits of Tara.

Lest it should seem like suing for peace, he made the offer not by poets but by the two sons of Crimhthann, King of Umall. Eogan asked them if they came as hostages. They said no, and that they did not believe that Conn meant the terms to be accepted. Thereupon Eogan hanged them.

Conn heard of this in the evening and prepared a night attack, as his forces were small. Goll MacMorna refused to join, as he was under vow never to make a night slaughter or attack, but promised to help Conn if Eogan pressed him.

At dawn Conn surprised Fraoch's camp and killed him before he could put on his armour. Fraoch was Eogan's brother-in-law and leader of the Spaniards. Eogan made a furious attack on Conn. Goll, supported by his thirty brothers, came forward and covered Conn. Eogan wounded Conall Cruachna so that Conall died within a year. Conn and Eogan wounded each other. Other kings rushed in upon Eogan, who was fighting with Goll, and raised him aloft on their spears. Then his army fled. Conn could not pursue. His losses were said to have been greater than Eogan's.

The sovereignty of Munster was again divided between Conaire and MacNiadh, and Conn was for twenty years undisputed King of Ireland. He is allowed a reign of thirty-four years, ending about A.D. 157 or 212, according to different computations; the latter is probably the more accurate. This important battle may be dated about A.D. 190.

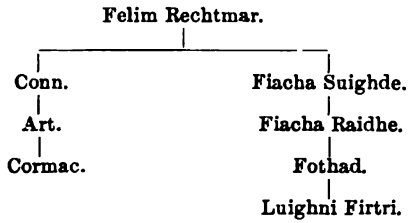
In all these events we find Conn, and afterwards we find his descen-

dants, relying on Connaught to support their pretensions to be kings of Ireland. Here Conn has the support of his foster-father, Conall of the race of Fiach, who is recognised as the King of Connaught.

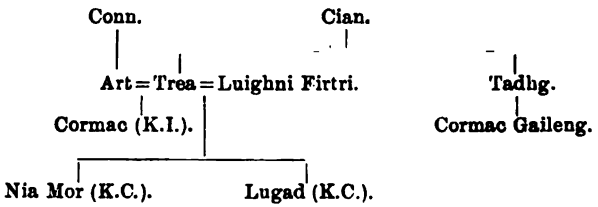
But Aedh or Goll MacMorna is the greater figure in the legends. At this time appear the Fianna, who are said to have been three organised bodies in Leinster, Connaught, and Munster. No such body is ascribed to Ulster. The descriptions show that they were organised bodies of soldiers, and it is supposed that they were an imitation of the Roman Legion. But they existed, by the name of Fianna, for only a short time.

The Connaught Fianna were called the Gamanry, and were commanded by Goll MacMorna. Also they were called Clann Morna, but these terms apply only to their commanders. As the only Connaught force is under the kings of Irrusdomnonn, we should expect that the sovereignty of Connaught would be held by those kings during the period in which they made much show in legend. So also in Leinster their commanders, Cumall and Finn, were not kings of Leinster. It seems stranger still that there were no Fianna of Meath. The explanation which commends itself to me is that they were bodies of Gallowglasses such as appeared in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but then under command of adventurers who were not inhabitants of the province, Free Companies who sold their services to any one who could raise their wages. I take the Fianna to have been similarly drilled and trained as professional soldiers under permanent commanders, but raised by each chieftain out of his own people. All maintained them in some form or other—at least the great chieftains would do so—but some made more show than others, and have survived in legend because of the distinction of their commanders and the events in which they were concerned.

In the third century the King of Corann or Gailenga or Luighne appears. King Cormac MacArt was closely connected with Corann, so that he bore the name of Cormac of Corann. He is said to have been born there and to have been brought up by his stepfather. The persons now mentioned in connection with this country are supposed to be closely related as follows:—



Thus O'Flaherty gives the descent of Luighni Firtri, "Ogygia," p. 333. According to another account, Luighni was son of Dermot. There is another connection between those families and the Clann Cein in the person of Trea, who was mother of Cormac MacArt and married Luighni, called from her Firtri, after the death of Art.



From Luighni Firtri the Corco Firtri of Corann, from Cormac Gaileng the O'Garas and O'Haras, are made to descend. From Cian also the Gailenga and Luighne of Meath and the Cianachta of Meath and Ulster are supposed to descend. We may believe that Luighni Firtri and his sons and Cormac Gaileng did exist about this period, and that they helped and were helped by Cormac MacArt. The Gregry, who occupied all this territory and all or part of Tirerrill in Tuathal Techtmar's time, and who appear again in St. Patrick's time, seem to have been now eclipsed by the Corcofirtri. But I think that no credit need be given to the alleged descent of the Corcofirtri from Felim Rechtmar, or to that of Clann Cein from Oilioll Olum.

Cormac attacked Aid, who was King of Connaught, and put up Nia Mor in his place. Aid killed Nia Mor, whereupon King Cormac came again and killed Aid, making Nia Mor's brother Lugad King of Connaught. This Aid is the last King of Connaught of the race of Fiach mentioned by O'Flaherty.

Cormac MacArt's son, Cairbre Liffeachair, King of Ireland, quarrelled with the Fianna of Leinster under Finn MacCumal, who defeated him. After Finn's death they took service with Moghcorb, King of Munster, and gave battle to Cairbre and the Clann Morna at Gabhra in A.D. 284. The victory was with Cairbre, though he was killed. The Fianna on both sides were almost exterminated, and were not formed again. Aid, son of Garad Glunduff, King of Connaught, commanded the Clann Morna. Aid followed Moghcorb and killed him in the battle of Spaltrach in Muskerry. Aid is succeeded by Condeus (a Latinised name) of the Corcofirtri. Thus the Olnegmacht kings of Connaught disappear from history, and their place is taken by the Milesians. Cian, son of Garad, King of the Sencheneoil, is mentioned in the legend of the Hy Maine. He seems to have been king of the old kingdom of the Tuatha Taiden. But we have no further indications regarding him. Thus closes what I may call the Olnegmacht or Firbolg period of Connaught's history.

CHAPTER II.

THE EARLY MILESIAN PERIOD.

CONNAUGHT history is broken in the middle of the fourth century. Muredach Tirech, of the Eremonian race of Meath, appears as King of Connaught after Condeus of the Corcofirtri, and is succeeded by his son, Eochaidh Muighmhedhoin. Both are recognised as kings of Meath and of Ireland. Neither seems to have had any local connection with Connaught, except that the latter is called "of Mag Medhoin," which may be the country about Kilmaine. In their times the ancient kingdoms of the Fir Craibe and of the Gamanry disappear from view. On Eochy's death his son Brian Orbsen is King of Connaught, and his son Fiachra is king of the territories of the Fir Craibe and of the Ferdomnonn.

Fiachra transfers the Fir Craibe kingdom, except Aidhne, to Munster, as an eric for the murder of Crimhthann Mor by his sister, mother of Brian, Fiachra, and Ailill; or in his time Conall Echluath conquered it, unless Conall's father, Lughaidh Menn, had done so already. These transactions and the transformations of Connaught clans are discussed in the *Journal of the R. S. A. I.*, vol. xxx. I am inclined to think that the kingdom of Fir Craibe did not include more of the county of Clare than the eastern part along the Shannon occupied by Clann Umoir tribes in the Attacottic list, and that the conquest was no more than the establishment of supremacy of the king of the Ua Cathbharr and Ua Corra tribes over them. It is quite likely that O'Flaherty's and Keating's extents of the Fir Craibe kingdom are based on the same authority, and that the Fir Craibe territory did not really extend south of Aidhne, that the error is due to the identification of Fiachra of Magh Tail with the Fiachra of the north.

In Ulster a like state arises. Muredach Tirech became King of Ireland by driving out Colla Uais and his brothers, who retire to Scotland. After three years they return and are well received by Muredach, who advises them to conquer for themselves a settlement in Ulster. With his help, and that of a large force from Connaught, they destroy Emain Macha and settle themselves in Ulster about A.D. 331, and develop into the tribes of the Oirghialla.

If these changes are taken to have occurred, we must admit that conditions existed in Ireland in the fourth century which have no parallel before or after. As far as we can judge from the legends of earlier and from the historical records of later centuries, the political conditions of Ireland were the same from the time of Queen Meave to the twelfth century. Christianity only softened manners and got rid of some savage customs.

No one could be king of a province, or of a main division thereof, without the support of a large group of families closely related to each other, and forming the foundation of their chief's power over other tribes. The descendants of kings spread over the land, indeed, but by very slow degrees, encroaching on less powerful clans.

Ulster suffers soon another conquest. After the death of Niall of Nine Hostages, his son Laegaire is King of Meath and King of Ireland in succession to Dathi, but his sons Eogan and Conall Gulban are settled in North Ulster, where they leave dominant clans. That the Oirghialla clans of the north would have submitted quietly is incredible, and Meath could not have imposed them violently on that distant part of Ulster. After the fifth century, when the High Kings were of Meath and Connaught alternately, the Hy Neill of Ulster provided almost all the High Kings for 150 years. If Niall of Nine Hostages is the Niall who was buried at Ochaine, it follows as almost a certainty that he was a King of Ulster, and was not son of a King of Meath and Connaught.

In Munster a somewhat similar condition is found, where the King of Munster is generally of the Eoghanacht and only occasionally of the Dalcais race.

In Connaught the chief kings come from Hy Briuin and Hy Fiachrach, north and south, until the former establish a supremacy.

In no case is there satisfactory evidence of the alleged origin of the rival families. In that of Ulster we should infer from analogy that Eogan sprang from the Oirghialla, the tribe of Ulster which had grown strong enough to drive the Dal Araidhe from Emain. In that of Munster we should infer that Lugaid Menn and Conall Echluath were kings of the ancient Ua Cathbharr and Ua Corra tribes who occupied nearly all Thomond.

The confusion of this and of earlier periods seems to have arisen when the Milesian genealogy was framed some hundreds of years later. The spread of Christianity over all Ireland during the fifth century must have made the use of letters general. To bring great families together whose real origin had been lost for ages, the genealogists had to go back to times before written record, when they could nail a branch on a convenient place in the tree. Thus, I take it, they

brought the principal kings of Meath and Ulster and Connaught together in the person of Eochy Moyvane in the fourth century.

It has been so long accepted, and, subject to these considerations, so well expresses the relationships of the tribes of each province towards each other, that it must be used for the historical period.

The case of Connaught has to be set out as we find it at the close of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century, when a fairly accurate history begins.

As the Fir Craibe kings had for several generations eclipsed the Gamanry and Tuatha Taiden kings in the sovereignty of Connaught, so now the kings of Irrusdomnonn, afterwards called the kings of the Hy Fiachrach, predominate in Connaught, holding the sovereignty of Ireland alternately with the kings of Meath, and sharing that of Connaught with the Hy Briuin during the fifth century. During the first half of the sixth century, when they no longer attain to the sovereignty of Ireland, they keep the sovereignty of Connaught in the line of Ailill Molt. After that time their power declines quickly.

At this time their power seems to have been based upon their immediate possessions of great extent, which were in my opinion the countries of Carra and Tirawley and Erris, inhabited by Ferdomnonn clans, whose names do not appear, save that of the Corcu Temne in the north of Carra, and a clan of Calry about Magh Eleog, now represented by Moylaw in Crossmolina parish, and the mass of Calry who occupied Coolcarney in Mayo and all Tireragh and Carbury in Sligo, and the baronies of Rossclogher and Dromahaire in Leitrim, and the country of Moylurg in Roscommon, and a part of Corran.

The power of Fiachra, Dathi, Ailill Molt, and their immediate successors seems to have been based upon the support of the Calry, as the royal tribe which had grown up during their period of obscurity. As the O'Conors left the Silmurray and began to settle in other parts of the country, so I suppose these kings, while resting on the great mass of their own tribe, moved into Carra and Tirawley and began to settle their relations upon the older clans in those regions. Their loss of power after the middle of the sixth century may be due to various causes. The tribes forming the foundation of their power were very much scattered. The rising power of the Hy Neill of Ulster at this time enabled them to impose themselves upon Carbury, while the tribe from which O'Rourks and O'Reillys came imposed itself upon the Calry of the County Leitrim. They dropped a clan in Corran, whose position I cannot ascertain. The Calry of Moylurg were of some importance, as they are recorded to have been fighting in 751 and 811 (A.U.) with the Hy Briuin of Ai, who eventually suppressed them.

The Gregry are still a great race. The Gailenga and Luighne

have not yet come into sight as tribes. The Gailenga and the Hy Ailello are mentioned in the Annals of Ulster for the first time in the note of the battle of Lorg in 742. But the Hy Ailello appear from Tirechan's notes to have borne that name in St. Patrick's time. The Luighne first appear in 770 (A.U.) in a note of the death of a chieftain. The Hy Ailello disappear after 791 (A.U.), when they are defeated by the Ui Briuin. Their previous appearances are fights with Gailenga, Gregry, Luighne, in 752, 788, 789 (A.U.). The name Gailenga seems to have been the most general name, denoting that they belonged to the Fir Gaileoin race. This eventually adhered rather to the Muinter Gadhra division. Gregraige denotes a clan descended from Greg or Grec, which held supremacy. Corcofirtri is another section, Luighne yet another, which was used to denote the whole kingdom when the O'Haras gained ascendency. As we know that the Gregry once extended over Tirerrill, and as we find the Hy Ailello there at this time, and cannot regard their alleged descent from a son of Eochy Moyvane as deserving credit, it is, I think, safe to take them to have been a section of the Gregry. At some time a split occurred in the tribe of the Gregry, which divided itself into two independent kingdoms of Gregry and Luighne, whom we find in the Book of Rights paying tribute in the proportion of two to five. If we take the kingdom of the Gregry to have comprised the baronies of Coolavin and Tirerrill or thereabouts, and that of the Luighne to have comprised the rest of the territory, the tributes are fairly apportioned.

Umall was the baronies of Murrisk and Burrishoole or thereabouts, inhabited by Clann Umoir families, from whom came Clann Maille, whose alleged descent from Brian Orbsen is contradicted by the Book of Rights. With such a descent the King of Umall would not have paid tribute. His full title was once "King of Aicill and Umall," *i.e.* of Highland and Lowland.[1]

The Partraige were of the Clann Umoir. According to O'Flaherty they were in three divisions:—

1. Of Odba Ceara, who in historical times are known only in the parish of Ballyovey, Baile Odhbha. They may have been in those of Ballintubber and Ballyheane in St. Patrick's time.

2. Of the Mountain, from Croaghpatrick to Lough Corrib. Here I think O'Flaherty took Aicill to be only Croaghpatrick, or the country immediately round it. From Aicill to Lough Corrib would be the barony of Ross.

3. Of the Lake. Cong was in their country.

Thus they occupied country possessed first by Tuath Resent Umoir and afterwards by Conmaicne, but shrank much from their early importance. The Book of Rights puts their king on an equality with

[1] "Battle of Magh Leana," p. 87.

the kings of Silmurray, Hy Briuin, and the Hy Fiachrachs, as he receives a stipend but pays no tribute.

Next comes a group of three tribes, the Conmaicne, the Ciarraige, and the Corcamoga, the original Connachta, who have given their name to the province. These I take to have sprung from the Fir Craibe kings of Connaught, and the Conmaicne to be more especially the tribe over which Brian Orbsen and his immediate successors presided until the growth of the Silmurray afforded a fresh base of power.

The barony of Clanmorris, excepting the parish of Balla, which was in Carra, cannot be ascribed to any of the early tribes. The descendants of Nechtan and Enna, sons of Brian Orbsen, were settled here. This country appears very late in legend and history, and then only as Tir Nechtain and Tir Enna. From MacFirbis's Great Book of Genealogies we learn that Tir Nechtain took its name from Brian's son Nechtan, and that the Cinel Enna came from Enna.

The Conmaicne were in three divisions :—

1. Conmaicne of Cuil Tolad, in the barony of Kilmaine, south of the Robe, and in the barony of Ross.

2. Conmaicne Mara, in the barony of Ballynahinch.

3. Conmaicne of Dunmore, or Cinel Dubain, in the barony of Dunmore and part of Ballymoe, and at least the parish of Belclare.

The Corcamogha made no show in history. In late days they were in the parishes of Clonbern and Kilkerrin. Their alleged descent from Fergus MacRoigh places them among the Connachta. I am now of opinion that they are the Corca of the Woods, that they are the Senchenéoil, and that they come from the Tuatha Taiden.

The Ciarraige were in four divisions :—

1. Ciarraige Ai or of Magh Ai, in the barony of Castlereagh except the parish of Ballintubber.

2. Ciarraige of Artech, which was the parishes of Kilnamanagh and Tibohine in Roscommon, and those of Kilcolman and Castlemore in Roscommon and Mayo.

3. Ciarraige of Loch na nAirneadh, Mannin Lake, or Ciarraige Iochtar, in the eastern and southern part of the parish of Aghamore, and in Bekan and Annagh.

4. Ciarraige Uachtar, in the rest of Aghamore, and in Knock.

The county of Mayo therefore consisted of fragments of kingdoms and tribes, whereof the Hy Fiachrach were the principal. The events affecting it are mainly those in connection with their kings, and are generally connected with the quarrels between them and the Hy Briuin kings.

The Hy Briuin, as already observed, were immediate kings of the Connachta, but where they lived when not in power in Croghan does

not appear. If they did not live among the Conmaicne, and if Brian was in truth an ancestor of the O'Flaherties, which is by no means certain, the barony of Clare may have been their usual abode.

This view has in its favour the Book of Rights, which mentions the Hy Briuin among the royal tribes as distinct from the Silmurray, and suggests that the general name clung to them when Silmurray grew up.

The Three Tuaths, Hy Briuin na Sinna, Corcachland, and Cinel Dobhtha, claimed descent from Erc Derg, son of Brian. But the Book of Armagh and the Tripartite Life make it clear that they came from Erc, son of Bron, of the Corca Chonluain. Descendants of the Erc from whom they came seem to be the Maicne Erc, sons of Heric, who were in Moylurg in St. Patrick's time. These appear to be the Hy Broin, who were distinguished from Hy Briuin by Tirechan, who calls them [Filii] Briuin and Filii Broin. Though they do not descend from Brian, it is not unlikely that the Corca Chonluain had a common ancestor with the Conmaicne, and so being of the royal race, were not under tribute, being included in the direct dominions of the King of Silmurray, as the Calry are omitted because immediately under the Hy Fiachrach kings, as I suppose. Beyond this we know not who were in possession of the rest of Magh Ai and of the Three Tuaths.

Next south of Magh Ai came the Delbhna of Sid Nenta, or Delbhna Nuadat, who occupied the country southwards from Fairymount to Maghfinn between the Suck and the Shannon.

Delbhna Tire Da Loch occupied the barony of Moycullen, and Delbhna Cuile Fabhair the country adjoining them and to the east of Galway. It is not now possible to say which of these groups was meant in the Book of Rights, probably the Roscommon group. The latter are likely to have been treated as in Hy Briuin territory.

The Delbhna Nuadhat and the Corcamogha are included within the traditional bounds of the kingdom of Hy Many, which, like those of the kingdom of Irrusdomnonn, seem to have been handed down from a very early time. Though the Delbhna and the Corca are placed separately under tribute to the King of Connaught, they may have been politically bound to the King of Hy Many.

Taking the Corca, as suggested above, to be representatives of the Tuatha Taiden and of the Sencheneoil, and taking into consideration the heavy tribute assessed on them in the Book of Rights, I suppose them to have occupied the Corcamogha and Sodhan territories of later times, and a good deal more, the northern part of the kingdom of Hy Many, and I take O'Mainnin, King of Sodan, to be their representative.

The Hy Many occupied lands in the southern part of their kingdom

at this time, but details are not clear. They certainly settled clans in Moenmagh at a very early date in the fifth or sixth centuries. Gaela, which O'Donovan considered to be near Loughreagh, was their chief dwelling. They settled themselves in the old Cathry territory.

In the Book of Rights their tribute is least of all, but the stipend is like that of other kings. The small tribute may be due to their being so powerful that they could not be made to pay more than a trifle when they lost the position of a tribe which might aspire to provide a King of Connaught.

Aidhne was the country between the Hy Many or Cathry and the sea as far north as the neighbourhood of Athenry. The inhabitants were Clann Umoir tribes at this time, even if Eoghan Aidhne was not of that race, tacked on to Eochaidh Breac, son of Dathi. These Hy Fiachrach kings were powerful, and in the sixth and seventh centuries were often kings of Connaught.

The historical kingdom of Brefne had not yet come into existence. It was included in the kingdom of Meath, except the Calry of Dromahaire and Dartry or Rossclogher. When the ancestors of the O'Rourks and O'Reillys formed it with the help of the Conmaicne, they attached themselves to Connaught, and eventually were strong enough to make four O'Rourk kings of Connaught in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The alleged descents of Hy Briuin of Brefne and Conmaicne from Brian Orbsen and from Conmaicne of Dunmore must be regarded as fictitious.

These are approximately the conditions of Connaught kingdoms about the year A.D. 400, from which grew slowly those which will be found in the year A.D. 1200.

As all Irish history turns on tribal relations, and so many tribes are mentioned in connection with events in which Mayo men were concerned, I give tables of descents according to Milesian Genealogies, and tables of the relations of early tribes according to my own views, and lists of the Domnonian and Milesian kings of Connaught. The O'Conor and O'Dowda families are given in detail because they were much mixed in warfare, and because the latter is the principal family of Mayo, which had a measure of real independence.

Dr. J. O'Donovan, who translated and edited the Book of Rights, held it to have been composed in the time of Cormac Mac Cuileannain, King of Cashel from 901 to 908, and to have been probably revised in the time of Brian Boro, but to have been based on a record drawn up by St. Benen in the fifth century. It is of interest as showing what a ninth or tenth century historian, working from the King of Munster's point of view, ascertained to be the rights and obligations of the kings of Ireland and of the provinces, and of the kings of tribes

under the provincial kings. The following lists give the tributes and stipends of the Connaught kings, taken from the poetry, which is considered to be older than the prose portion. Poetry and prose go over the same ground, but vary slightly.

Tributes payable to the King of Connaught by the Kings of Tribes.

	Cows.	Oxen.	Hogs.	Cloaks.	Iron Sheep.	
1. Umall . . .	100	...	100	100	...	Cloaks or mantles
2. Greagraidhe . .	100	100	60	60	...	...
3. Conmaicne . .	200	...	80	240	...	...
4. Ciarraidhe . .	100	100	60	60	...	Red cloaks
5. Luighne . . .	350	150	150	150	...	...
6. Corca of the Wood .	140	350	350	...	350	...
7. Dealbhna . .	150	...	150	150	...	...
8. Ui Maine . .	...	...	80	80	...	...
	1140	700	1030	1030	350	

In connection with the tribute of iron sheep, note that O'Kelly's iron was with the Hy Tuathaigh of Aughrim and with the Hy Baedain of Badhna,[1] and that Aughrim is in the country where I would place Sencheneoil or Corca of the Wood.

The stipends payable to these kings, and to the kings of royal tribes who paid no tribute, were as follows:—

1. Sil Muireadhaigh: a ring, a dress, a steed, a shield, a sword, a coat of mail.

2. Umhall: 5 steeds, 5 swords, 5 ships, 5 coats of mail.

3. Dealbhna: 6 swords, 6 shields, 6 steeds, 6 tunics with gold, 6 drinking-horns.

4. Greagraidhe: 6 weapons, 6 tunics, 6 bondsmen, 6 bondswomen, 6 coats of mail.

5. Conmaicne: 10 drinking-horns, 10 steeds, 2 rings, 2 chessboards.

6. Ui Maine: 7 cloaks, 7 horses, 7 hounds, 7 deep-red tunics.

7. Luighne: 10 steeds, 10 cloaks, 10 drinking-horns, 10 white hounds.

8. Ui Briuin: 5 steeds, 5 matals, 5 swords, 10 drinking-horns, 10 bondsmen, 10 chessboards.

9. Corca of the Wood: 5 war-horses, 5 matals, 5 swords, 5 coats of mail.

10. Partraidhe: 3 drinking-horns, 3 swords, 3 tunics, 3 steeds.

[1] H.M., p. 91.

11. Ui Fiachrach: 3 drinking-horns, 3 swords, 3 steeds, 10 rings, 10 chessboards.

12. Ceneal Aedha: 7 women, 7 bondsmen, 3 drinking-horns, 3 swords, 3 hounds.

But that the stipend of the king of the Partraidhe resembles those of the kings of Hy Fiachrach, north and south (Ceneal Aedha), except that the latter, being much the more powerful, get each two additional items, I should suspect their name to be a mistake for that of Ciarraidhe, who are left out, and who ought to receive a stipend. On the other hand, they are not classed with the free tribes who had privileges expressed thus—

"The Ui Briuin and Siol Muireadhaigh and the Ui Fiachrach and the Cineal Aedha are free tribes, and they are equally noble as the king, and they do not go upon an expedition or hosting except for pay; and they do not go into battle with the king but for reward; and if they be killed, and upon their being killed, the king is bound to give eric to their king; and when the kingdom [of Connacht] does not belong to the race of Fiachra or Aedh or Guaire, the best man of them is privileged to sit by the right shoulder of the King of Connacht. If they happen to be in exile in another territory, they are to sit at the right shoulder of the King of Caiseal, or of the King of Nas, or of the King of Emain Macha."

CHAPTER III.

THE FIFTH CENTURY AND ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY.

EOCHY MOYVANE died in A.D. 365. His son, Brian Orbsen, is next recognised as King of Connaught. Towards the close of the century he quarrelled with Fiachra, whom he made prisoner and put in charge of Niall (K.I.). Dathi and Erc Culbuidhe defeated Brian at Damhchluain, between Knockmaa and Conmaicne Cuile. Brian was chased by their ally, Crimhthann, son of Enna Cennselach, to Tulcha Domnaill, where he was killed and buried. St. Beo Aidh of Roscam dug up his bones and buried them at Roscam.

Brian's Druid, Drithliu, was killed on the shore of Lough Carra, whence Aenach Drithlind took its name. This was a royal fort of the kingdom of Carra,[1] which I identify with the great dun near Liskillen. Realin peninsula, on the shore of Lough Carra, preserves the Druid's name.

Fiachra was released, became King of Connaught, invaded Munster on behalf of King Niall, and died of his wounds on his way back to Tara with hostages, who were buried alive round his fert at Forud in Moyfenrath barony in Meath. It must be doubtful whether two Fiachras have been confused here or not. But we may believe that Dathi, son of Fiachra Foltsnathach, King of Irrusdomnonn, became King of Connaught towards the close of the century by killing Brian, and opening the succession for his father or himself.

Fairly accurate history begins in the fifth century, when the dates become right with a year or so generally, and events are likely to be correctly stated. During the fifth century we have little local information, except about church affairs. Fights for sovereignty of Connaught sum up the political history. For 150 years the descendants of Fiachra of Irrusdomnonn were the rivals of those of Brian, and decidedly predominated over them, as Dathi and Ailill Molt are recognised as kings of Ireland.

At the beginning of the seventh century the Hy Fiachrach Aidhne entered the field, and shared the sovereignty with the Hy Briuin for a hundred years. The Hy Fiachrach Moy held it again in the persons of

[1] H.F., p. 205.

E SHANNON IN THE 5TH CENTURY.

STANFORD'S GEOGRAPHICAL ESTABT., LONDON.

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Donogh of Murrisk and Indrechtach for a year or two each. Then from 756 to 772 they held it for the last time. Henceforward it was with the Hy Briuin Ai, save that the O'Rourks came in from time to time in the eleventh century, and that an O'Flaherty held it for a short time in a period of unusual disturbance.

He was acknowledged to be King of Connaught who was able to seize and hold Cruachan and to take the hostages of the sub-kings. Cruachan was abandoned after the death of Raghallach in 645. An island in Lough na nEn, near Roscommon, was afterwards, down to the Norman Conquest, a house of the King of Connaught.

The dates I have assigned are fairly correct. Different annals give different dates according to the synchronisms on which they are based, but agree generally in the order and relative dates until they become accurate within a small error.

Allowing Fiachra to have succeeded Brian, we find his son Dathi, or Nathi, whose name was originally Feradach, established as King of Connaught. He became King of Ireland at the death of Niall in 406, and Duach Galach, youngest son of Brian, became King of Connaught. One of Dathi's brothers, Amalgaid or Erc Culbuidhe, should have been King of Irrusdomnonn at this time, which it will be most convenient to call hereafter the kingdom of the Hy Fiachrach, as the former name is dropped by all Irish writers.

Duach Galach is an important person in this history, because St. Patrick made his acquaintance, according to tradition, before he became King of Connaught, and worked in the territories of the Conmaicne and Ciarraige and of the Partry, and in Umall, and in North Carra among the Corcutemne. He worked also in the countries of the Delbhna and in Moy Ai and in Tirerrill. These are the countries which were especially under the influence of Duach Galach. On the other hand, he was wholly excluded from the countries under the Hy Fiachrach, except those of the Corcutemne, and of the Calry east of Ballysadare. Duach Galach was a Christian, and his son Eogan Srebh was baptized by St. Patrick. He died in 427.

King Dathi's death is recorded in the same year. He "was killed by a flash of lightning at Sliabh Ealpa." The account of his death in the Alps mentions the battles fought by his army under command of his son Amalgaid as they brought the body back to be buried in the Releg of Cruachan, where the pillar stone set up at his grave may still be seen. Sir Samuel Ferguson has identified the places named in the tract, but the evidence does not seem to me to establish the fact of such an invasion of the Roman Empire, which is not likely to have escaped notice by Roman writers if it had occurred.

In Ballycroy in Erris is a mountain called Slieve Alp. Leaghtdauhybaun is a cairn on a high mountain to the east of it, and more

to the east is a Lough Dauhybaun. Local tradition derived the name Dauhybaun from a "Fair David," a great robber who was killed by soldiers some two hundred years ago.[1] A common robber would not be honoured by the great labour needed to place so great a monument at so great a height. It is not likely that it was put up to commemorate King Dathi, but if King Dathi was killed in that country the local tradition would affix his name to a great monument of forgotten origin. I am inclined to believe that Dathi met his death in Ballycroy, and that the legend was worked up by men who knew not this Slieve Alp. The death of Duach Galach and the settlement of his brother Amalgaid as King of Connaught would account for his presence here, chasing enemies or their cattle.

Of St. Patrick's work in Mayo at this period the only fact that has come down is in a note in Tirechan's collection in the Book of Armagh to the effect that he went from Drummut Cerrigi, which is near Kilroddan, a little west of Lough Glynn, to Ailech Esrachtae in the north of Narney, where he and eight or nine companions were threatened by certain men. Hercaith of the race of Nothi intervened and saved them. Hercaith was baptized with his son Feradach, whom he gave to Patrick. Feradach studied with Patrick for thirty years, and was ordained by Patrick in Rome. He was given a new name, Sachell. He was a bishop who worked in Moy Ai, having a church at Baslick.

It is evident that Patrick had been working much in this country, and that many churches had been established before his episcopal tour. But we have no details of his work beyond the above, only the inferences from general statements and references to churches which consist only with an early period of work in Connaught.[2]

The accession of Laegaire as King of Ireland and of Amalgaid as King of Connaught produced opposite effects in Meath and Connaught. Though not much of a Christian himself, even if ever nominally Christian, Laegaire held St. Patrick in great respect and gave him protection and freedom of preaching. Patrick seems to have gone to Rome, or at least to Gaul, to report the good opportunity of organising his congregations, and procured the appointment of Palladius as bishop. Only when the Irish rejected Palladius did Patrick accept the bishopric. There is no direct evidence that Patrick procured Palladius's appointment. It is inference from the facts. The Pope would not have superseded Patrick by sending a bishop to rule the church in Ireland unless Patrick suggested it.

In or soon after the year 443, St. Patrick made a tour in the

[1] *Proc. R.I.A.*, 3rd Series, vol. iv. p. 108.

[2] For reasons for ascribing to St. Patrick a period of work in Connaught before 432, see my "Notes on the Early History of the Dioceses of Tuam, Killala, and Achonry."

Christian parts of Connaught, accompanied by a train of bishops and priests, founding new churches, visiting old churches, and leaving bishops and priests in charge. It seems to have been an organising tour. It has been suggested that the record in the Book of Armagh is that of a tour made by Tirechan himself, into which he worked the written and traditional information regarding places visited by St. Patrick in the form of an Itinerary of St. Patrick.[1] This he has done to some extent, but I am inclined to think that he also developed some kind of earlier diary or abstract.

Patrick came from Clonmacnoise to the border of Moy Ai, where two Druids who fostered the daughters of King Laegaire met him. They are said to have used their magic art against him, which was overcome by his prayers. The result was that he turned aside and went in the direction of Kilglass to Kilmore. Considering Patrick's relations with King Laegaire, I should expect these Druids to be well disposed towards Patrick, and I therefore suggest that the fact may have been that they met him to warn him not to enter Moy Ai, as King Amalgaid would not countenance his preaching there.

From Moy Glass, the Kilmore country, he went to work in the country of the Hy Ailello, and thence returned to Elphin and to Shankill. In the meantime, as I suppose, King Amalgaid had been induced to permit Patrick to work in Moy Ai, though he did not receive him at Croghan. Patrick worked all round, but is not mentioned as having been at Croghan or as having met Amalgaid. On the other hand, it is evident that the resident lords and gentry were willing to receive him, and especially the sons of King Brian. We also find that Amalgaid's sons brought Patrick to their country and were baptized soon after their father's death, not ten years later.

So Patrick worked south to Fuerty, and then north again to the country of the Gregry, east of Lough Gara, the parish of Killaraght, where he founded churches. After a visit to Assylin he moved to Ailech Mor, the old fort near Castle More Costello, and founded the old church at that place, which was then part of Artech and occupied by the Ciarraige, and called Ailech Mor Ciarraige. We may be sure that Enda, the chief of Artech at that time, received Patrick in his house, and thus we may see in that ruined rampart one of the few places which can with any certainty be said to have been inhabited by Patrick. After working about Ballaghaderreen he moved to Kilroddan, to the west of Lough Glynn, and thence to the country of Narney, where he founded the church, now called Kilcronan, on the east shore of Mannin Lake in the parish of Aghamore. Thence he

[1] Professor Bury, *English Historical Review*, April 1902.

moved to Mucna's Well, now Patrick's Well, near Ballyhaunis, and founded the old church of Kilmullen in Grallagh townland.

Thence he came through the Dunmore country to the country about Kilmaine, and founded three churches. Two of them are Kilmainebeg and either Kilquire or Shrule, probably the latter. The Church of Cross might be the third. This country was already converted to a great extent. To an earlier period must be ascribed the foundation of the undoubtedly Patrician churches of Kilmainemore, Kilbennan, Donaghpatrick, and perhaps Templepatrick on Inchanguill.

From Kilmaine he moved to Cuil Core in Mag Caeri, where he founded a church. These places have not been identified, but are probably in the barony of Clanmorris, as his next halt was in Mag Foimsen, the country about Ballinamore in Killedan parish, where he left Conan a priest, at Patrick's Well, as I suppose. Thence he passed to Stringill's Well, at Bellabourke, where he spent two Sundays, and went on to the country of Raithin, about Ballyheane. These churches seem to have been already established. Thence he went to Aghagower and founded a church. He fasted on the top of Croaghpatrick. Now, or earlier, he founded a church in Cloonpatrick graveyard at Oughaval. Thereafter he founded a church at Kilmeena, and moved into the country of the Corcu Temne, where he founded three churches, probably Turlough and Manulla and another in Kildacommoge parish, but it is not certain when Turlough and Manulla were founded, though they were certainly Patrician. It may have been on an earlier visit. On this occasion he seems to have lived near Turlough, as he is said to have baptized many thousands in the Well of Sin, probably the holy well at Turlough.

He uncovered a dolmen built over the holy well at Manulla in the presence of a crowd of the Druids and heathen of the country who had worshipped the well. It was called Slan, and from it the church and parish were called Slanpatrick down to the sixteenth century. The uncovering seems to have been a formal, prearranged act, that it might be seen whether the god of the well would punish the Christian who interfered with his altar, or a formal abolition of the worship. It seems clear that the Corcu Temne as a tribe, and their subjects, now generally adopted Christianity.

Thus ended the work of the tour, and St. Patrick returned to Meath.

King Amalgaid died in 449, and his nephew Ailill Molt became King of Connaught.

Seven of Amalgaid's sons came to the Fes of Tara in 451 to settle before King Laegaire a dispute about their inheritance. Laegaire decided, with Patrick's concurrence, that the land should be divided, and that Enda, the eldest, should be the chieftain. The brothers

accepted Christianity in principle, but said that they must be baptized after the new religion had been adopted in their tribal assembly. Patrick contracted with them for escort to Tirawley. But the arrangements were not pleasing to all. Oengus conspired with Fergus and Fedelmid to kill Patrick and Enda's son Conall in Corann. Fergus and Fedelmid withdrew from the plot, and Oengus seems to have gone ahead to organise opposition. Though Tirechan does not mention the tribal meeting, yet it is evident that it was held, and that the brothers and their people accepted the new faith. For we learn that Enda and his brothers and 12,000 men were baptized in a well called Oen Adarc, according to the Tripartite Life.

The local tradition has told that Amalgaid and his sons and 900 persons were baptized in Tobernacreeva in Foghill townland. Except that Amalgaid was not there, the tradition may well be correct.

When he was near Mullafarry a mob led by Druids came to attack him between Killybrone and Crosspatrick, but were driven off by Enda and Conall.

He founded a church in the Forrach, which probably is Killogunra, and another called Donaghmore near Killala, and one at Ros mac Caitni, which is probably the ruin on Dunbriste. He is said to have founded Killala and Kilmoremoy. He certainly established the faith firmly in Tirawley, but the Book of Armagh and the Tripartite Life relate the Tirawley events in a very confused way.

He was in danger of drowning in crossing the Moy near Bouleyfadrick, south of Ballina, between Ardnarea and Breaghwy. He crossed its mouth also from Bartragh. He was opposed and threatened by the Calry of Coolcarney on one occasion. I suspect that they turned him back, and that he then took the other course. He made his way through Tireragh to Ballysadare, and on to Ulster.

In Tirawley he baptized Eochaidh Breac, son of Dathi, whose descendants settled about Killala. Fiachra Elgach and Ailill Molt and their descendants seem to have been pagans until the sixth century.

The only important clans who now adhered to paganism were the sons of Dathi and their descendants in the country of Carra, the Gailenga, and the Calry.

In accordance with the statement that seven sons of Amalgaid came to Tara and were baptized, we find that only Enda Crom, Oengus Fionn, Oengus, Eochaidh, Fergus, Felim, left families of importance in Tirawley. These constituted the Hy Amalghadha.

We know nothing more regarding the establishment of Christianity during this century, but may take it to have been spreading quietly.

After Laegaire's death Ailill Molt became King of Ireland in 463. The two branches of the Hy Neill combined and killed him in the

battle of Ucha, near Tara, in 482. His son Erc must have been of some importance. D. MacFirbis writes: "[Some] books state that Earc, the son of Oilioll Molt, assumed the monarchy of Ireland, and exacted the Borumha without a battle." If he did he was soon killed, or died, and the fact forgotten.

The kingdom of Connaught seems to have been assumed by Eoghan Srebh in succession to Ailill. In any case Duach Tengumha was king at the close of the century. In 499 he was killed at the battle of Segais, the river Boyle, by Muirchertach Mac Erca of Ulster, and was succeeded by Eoghan Bel, son of Cellach, son of Ailill Molt, or, according to another account, son of Erc, son of Ailill Molt.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM ACCESSION OF EOGHAN BEL TO A.D. 800.

St. Tigernan of Errew worked in Tirawley in the early part of the sixth century. His paten still exists. No more is known of him except that he was the founder of the Abbey of Errew. The Breastagh Ogham stone near the king's house of Rathfran commemorates a "son of Cairbre, son of Amalgaid," who may be father or uncle of Tigernan, or a great-grandson of Fiachra Elgach.

Apparently at a later date St. Cormac appears. He is called Cormac O'Liathain, but it is not unlikely that a Tirawley man has been confused with O'Liathain. First he applied to Eoghan Bel, the King of Connaught, at his dun on Inishmaine. Eoghan did not encourage him, and he went to Carra, where Ailill Inbandha received him well at Fertlothair. Owing to the jealousy of a Finan of Rathen who was already settled in Carra, he had to move on, and went to Tirawley. This Finan is the first who appears in Carra after St. Patrick. His shrine was kept in the church on Church Island in Lough Carra. The Hy Amalgada received Cormac and let him settle at Kilcormick, near Killala, and it is said that they endowed him with the churches of Killala. The Abbey of Killala, which furnished the bishop and chapter, may have been his foundation. But we have no information about it.

He tried to settle and work in the kingdom of the Luighne and Gailenga, and was received well by the king, but had to leave in consequence of objections raised by St. Aodhan of Cloonoghil, who was established there.

A party rose against him in Tirawley, but he overcame all opposition. He was especially the saint of North Tirawley as Tigernan was of South Tirawley.

According to his Life in Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum," the opponents were in the wrong, were properly cursed by him, and suffered then or in reputation afterwards. We may infer that he was a very quarrelsome man, who could not work in peace with any one else.

St. Aodhan died in 562. Contemporary with him, or about the same time, his relations, Cuimin, O'Suanaigh, and O'Triallaigh, were working in Tirawley and Tireragh. The two last seem to have been

brothers of Aodhan, but we cannot rely implicitly on the pedigrees of early saints. Cuimin was a first cousin of Tigernan.

St. Brendan of Clonfert worked in Erris and lived on Inisglora. The Nuns Derbiled, of the race of Eochaidh Breac, and Gegh, carried on the work there in a later generation.

We may allow that all the royal families of this country had adopted Christianity and encouraged its spread in their dominions by the middle of the sixth century.

The Ulster kings Fergus and Donnell invaded Tireragh. Eoghan Bel collected his forces and came up with them at Belladrehid as they were driving away the cattle. The battle began at Crinder, now represented by Culleencrin. The Ulstermen were defeated and driven across the Sligo river, but Eoghan was mortally wounded, and died in a few days. He was buried, by his own orders it is said, in the side of a rath overlooking the ford below the town of Sligo, standing with his spear in his hand. Thereafter the Ulstermen were defeated whenever they attacked the Connaughtmen, until they came with a great host to Rath na Fiachrach, lifted Eoghan and buried him head downwards in the flat land by Lough Gill, Aenach Locha Gile, which is supposed to be in Hazelwood demesne. It is evident from his chosen mode of burial that he was a pagan. This is called the battle of Sligo, and occurred in the year 537 or thereabouts.

In the same year a son of Erc, son of Ailill Molt, fell in the battle of Tortan in Meath. (A.U., A.T.)

From a curious mixture and confusion of traditions called the "Life of St. Cellach," the following historical facts are drawn. Cellach, eldest son of Eoghan Bel, and three of his cousins studied under Ciaran of Clonmacnoise. Cellach tried to take up the chieftainship, but was expelled by Guaire, grandson of Eochaidh Breac, and became a priest and bishop of Kilmoremoy. His younger brother, Muredach, became head of Eoghan Bel's branch. Cellach used his local influence on his brother's behalf when Muredach quarrelled with Guaire. MacDeoraid, son of Eoghan Bel's brother, supported by Guaire, murdered Cellach and drove Muredach out of his country, assumed the chieftainship, and ruled over at least the lands of the Calry of Murrisk, but was resisted by his subjects. Muredach returned, caught MacDeoraid and hanged him and three allies, called the four Maels, on Ardnarea. He is said to have captured them in a fort called Dunfidhne, having four doors, near Tandrego. Being unable to make head against Guaire, he submitted, and was treacherously murdered.

The quarrel seems to have been for supremacy over the lands of Calry of Coolcarney along the river Moy, a family quarrel between the Hy Eachach and Eoghan Bel's clan. A religious element entered

into this war, as we are told that Muredach remorselessly wasted the churches of Guaire's land, though he was considerate towards Guaire's people.

The events cannot be dated more exactly than as having occurred about the middle of the sixth century. Eoghan Bel's family became extinct, and Guaire's also died out. The saints O'Suanaigh and O'Triallaigh seem to have been Guaire's brothers, as was Aodhan of Cloonoghil. They must have worked after the death of Ailill Inbanna, who succeeded Eoghan, being his brother, or possibly his son.

In 544 (F.M., A.T.) Fergus and Donnell invaded Connaught again, and killed Ailill and his brother Aedh Fortamail in the battle of Cuilconaire in Carra, a place not identified. The following curious tradition is given in the Tract on the Boromean Tribute in the Book of Leinster, translated by Mr. S. H. O'Grady in "Silva Gadelica," wherein Columcille says:—

"As touching Ailillbannda, King of Connaught, the matter whereby he had the Lord's peace was this: the battle of Cuilconaire it was, which he fought against Clann Fiachrach and in which he was defeated, when [as they retreated] he said to his charioteer: 'Cast now, I pray thee, a look to the rear, and discover whether the killing be great and the slayers near to us.' The driver looked behind him, and replied: 'The slaughter that is made of thy people is intolerable!' 'Not their own guilt, but my pride and unrighteousness it is that comes against them,' said the king: 'wherefore turn me now the chariot to face the pursuers; for if I be slain, it will be a redemption of many.' Then Ailill did earnest act of penance, and by his foemen fell. 'That man therefore,' said Columcille, 'attained to the Lord's peace.'"

The mention of Clann Fiachrach as his adversary suggests that the Ulstermen found local allies in the rival families of the Hy Fiachrach.

His successor probably was Feradach Mac Rossa, whom I insert here on the authority of the Annals of Clonmacnoise.

Aedh, son of Eochaidh Tirmcharna, became King of Connaught in 556.

To this period I assign the disintegration of the great kingdom of Irrusdomnonn, and its reduction to the historical kingdom of the Hy Fiachrach. The race of Ailill Molt in Carra becomes insignificant, no longer mentioned in the Annals. The line of Fiachra Elgach comes to the front, and replaces in Tireragh the lines of Eochaidh Breac and Eoghan Bel. His son Amalgaid had been chief, as to him is attributed the building of Carnamalgada, now Mullaghorne, at Killala, as a burying place for himself and a meeting place for his

tribe. Tibraide is mentioned as having given St. Columba land on which the church of Skreen was built.

Owing to its inability to aspire to the sovereignty of Connaught, the kingdom of the Hy Fiachrach is seldom mentioned in the Annals. But there is more information regarding the affairs of the church.

602 (A.U.). The battle of Echros in Muirisc, between the Cinel-Coirpri and the Ui-Fiachrach of Muirisc. Maelcothaig, king of the Ui-Fiachrach, was put to flight.

Ulcha Derg O'Caellaighe, of the Conmaicne of Cuil Toladh, captured the house of Cennfaelaidh, King of Connaught, and killed him in 680. Duncad Muirsce became King of Connaught, but was killed in the following year (A.T., A.U., F.M.).[1]

In 704 Duncad Muirsce's son, Indrechtach, became King of Connaught, but was killed in 706 by the Ulstermen (A.U.).

In 742 the Gailenga appear fighting the battle of Lurg against the Hy Ailello (A.U.).

In 757 Ailill Meadraige, who had become King of Connaught in 755, defeated the Hy Briuin Ai in the battle of Druim Robaigh or Brecmagh, killing three sons of Fergus, son of Cellach (A.U.). As Fergus was Ailill's immediate predecessor, this seems to have been a fight for the crown.

Ailill died in 763, and was succeeded by his cousin, Dubhinnrecht, who defeated the Conmaicne at Shrule in the Co. Longford in 765. He died in 767, and was succeeded by his brother Donncothaigh, who died in 772 (A.U.). The Hy Fiachrach Muaidhe never again attained to the sovereignty of Connaught.

In 773 Flannabhra, lord of Umall, in 777 Dunghal, son of Flaithniadh, lord of Umall, in 783 Aedhgal, King of Umall, died (F.M.). These are the first lords of Umall mentioned in the Annals.

In 776 there was a slaughter of the Calry by the Hy Fiachrach, and in 786 "a slaughter of the Ui-Briuin of Umall by the Ui-Fiachrach-Muirsce, where all the noblest were slain about the king, Flathgal, son of Flannabhra" (A.U.).

The beginning of the seventh century was marked by the establishment of great monasteries, and the complete organisation of the church upon the native system.

St. Mochua came to Balla about the year 616, and founded a monastery which became the ecclesiastical centre of the Hy Fiachrach of the Moy, claiming supremacy over and dues from the territories of Carra and Tireragh generally. Though the succession is unknown, it may be inferred that the race of Ailill Molt provided

[1] A Dunchad was king of the Ui Amalgada and Ui Fiachrach Muirisc about 697 (Kuno Meyer, "Cain Adamnain," p. 19).

kings of the Hy Fiachrach for some time after its foundation, and that the descendants of Fiachra Elgach had estates in Carra. There is evidence of the latter fact in the tradition handed down by MacFirbis that O'Caomain had a large estate comprising the parishes of Rosslee and Touaghty, as well as a chiefry in Tireragh.

Fechin of Fore founded Cong in 623, after working in the baronies of Ballynahinch and Ross, which are especially connected with him. He left these countries about 630. Cong became the great monastery of the Conmaicne Cuile Tolad and Conmaicne Mara.

Colman of Lindisfarne, unable to follow the practices of the Celtic church in Northumbria, brought about thirty monks to settle on Inishboffin. Disputes arose between the Irish and English monks, which were appeased by the foundation of Mayo for the English monks in 668, which became a great institution, much frequented by young Englishmen of rank, and probably for a very long time manned by English monks to some extent. It acquired the greatest reputation of all the monasteries of this county down to the twelfth century.

The Inishboffin monastery decayed, being suitable only for ascetic life. The Columban monks were settled in several places in the county, at Oughaval, on Illauncolumbkille and Inishrobe on Lough Mask, and at places in Erris. But Mayo was the chief of all.

The Patrician monastery at Aghagower was the only monastery of note in Umall. The Round Tower and the great endowment in land about it mark its position as the head church of that kingdom.

Turlough seems to have been the abbey of Clann Cuain, but no details are known about it.

Meelick, owing to its Round Tower, must be taken to have been the principal abbey of the Gailenga, but I find no references to it. St. Nathi's abbey at Achonry eventually overshadowed it, and provided the bishop for that kingdom, but was peculiarly the abbey of the O'Hara family.

Regarding the Ciarraige I find no church of importance corresponding with the great abbeys already mentioned.

The abbeys of Killala and Errew were the religious centres of Tirawley.

Thus all Mayo is Christian, and the monastic organisation is completed which lasted, latterly in decay, until replaced in the eleventh century in practice, and formally in the twelfth century, by territorial episcopacy.

We must suppose that the great monasteries were laid out upon the usual plan—a church, buildings for common use of the monks, separate small cells for monks, and subsidiary buildings and storehouses, all surrounded by a high stone wall built without mortar,

called a cashel, round or oval like the duns and raths of the kings and chiefs, but sometimes of irregular shape to suit the ground or the grouping of buildings. A small piece of the cashel of Mayo shows the extent of the enclosure. If the number of students in residence at one time was not very large, they and the teaching staff and the monks of the church may have found accommodation within the cashel. On the other hand, we know that the students of some very great colleges lived outside, and we might expect that the arrangement would be general in large colleges.

The churches of Moyne in the barony of Kilmaine and of Ross in that of Ross, which as far as we know were never of more than local importance, had cashels enclosing large areas. That of the former is in unusually good condition, and encloses an area measuring 380 by 330 feet, and that of the latter an equal area at least, judging from the remaining part. At Drum and Loonamore in the barony of Carra large cashels of rectangular plan are well marked, but they seem to have been intended for the accommodation of pilgrims, as the Togherpatrick passes through them.

We cannot say exactly how these enclosures were utilised, but we can say that such large enclosures were commonly built round important churches. Such enclosures as those of Drum and Loonamore suggest walled villages, and that they may have been used in various ways. In some cases churches were built within forts given up by the owner for the purpose. The churches of this period which remain are not much more than thirty feet long, usually less.

Evidence is abundant to show the early use of mortar and steady improvement of ecclesiastical architecture, but is wanting, probably because there was no occasion for change, and was no change, in regard to secular architecture. We find no evidence of material change in military building until it is noted that the Connaught-men—*i.e.* King Torlogh Mor—built castles at Galway, Ballinasloe, and Collooney in 1124 (A.T., F.M.).

The cashels and cahers of dry stone, the earthen forts having the sides of their ditches faced with stone, and having stone walls or wooden palisades upon the ramparts, answered the purposes of defence, and continued in use long after the twelfth century. We have no means of dating them unless they are mentioned in history or legend. The great dry-stone forts of the counties of Clare and Galway, which are attributed to the Clann Umoir, may have been built during the period of their domination, but others, and some of them, were no doubt built earlier and later. Dunamoe, near Belmullet, is in the style of the great cahers of Aran, with outer defence of upright stone. Kilcashel, near Kilmovee, is a well-preserved simple cashel without outer defence. Ballynacarrach, near

Kilmaine, shows a similar plain cashel strengthened by a deep ditch with steep sides. It is the Dun na nGall mentioned in 1159.

Castlehag in Lough Mask is a mortared caher with an unusually high wall. It is first mentioned in 1195. As such mortared cahers are very rare, we may infer that mortar had not been long applied in military architecture when the Anglo-Norman invasion introduced a new style and those Irish lords who were in a position to build a fort built a castle. It is not likely that any new fort of importance was built in Mayo after the de Burgo conquest.

The domestic buildings inside the forts must have been generally of wood, as traces of even foundations of stone are rarely seen. The crannoges remained in use even to the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER V.

FROM A.D. 800 TO THE ANGLO-NORMAN INVASION.

THE Hy Briuin Ai, having become the predominant tribe of Connaught, expanded and settled their clans, called collectively the Silmurray, in the territories of the Ciarraige, Delbna, Hy Ailello, Hy Maine, Corcamoe, and Conmaicne of Dunmore, thus maintaining and increasing their power until new conditions were introduced by the Anglo-Norman conquest. During the eleventh century their rivals were the O'Rourks, who mastered them for a time. From this period of confusion Torlogh Mor O'Conor arose. The Hy Fiachrach and other tribes of Mayo played small parts, and seldom come in sight.

In addition to these tribal quarrels which went on as usual, a more destructive warfare was introduced by the Northmen, who made their first descent on Ireland in 795. Their first visit to Connaught was in 807, when they burnt Inismurray and advanced to Roscommon, according to the Annals of Ulster and of Clonmacnoise. But the *Chronicum Scotorum* gives Roscam instead of Roscommon, probably correctly, as these raids seem to have been confined to the sea coast. They made no settlements in Connaught.

Because they bore a special hatred to Christianity since Charlemagne tried to convert the north of Europe by the sword, their raids checked the progress of culture by the breaking up of religious communities and destruction of their libraries. Had they been Christians and plundered the churches only of such movables as were taken by the Irish from the churches of other tribes—probably only grain, cattle, and the like—no permanent harm would have come from an addition to the normal amount of plundering in the slightly organised agricultural and pastoral country. Losses would have been made good in the peaceful intervals.

Of what passed in Mayo there are but a few bare notes of events.

In 811 the Northmen descended on Umall, but were slaughtered by the men of Umall, and they slaughtered the Conmaicne, probably Conmaicne Mara. They came again the next year and slaughtered the men of Umall, killing Cosgrach, son of Flannabhrat, and Dunadach, King of Umall (A.U.).

815 (A.U.). A battle was gained over the Ui Fiachrach of Muirisc

by Diarmait, son of Tomaltach. Death of Cathal, son of Ailill, king of the Ui Fiachrach.

The Danes left Ireland alone until about 822, when another series of raids began. In 831 Turgesius appeared, established himself in the north, and put a fleet on Lough Ree for the devastation and subjugation of Connaught. The Annals record in 835 (A.U., F.M.) a cruel oppression and desolation of all Connaught. Two years later a fleet from the north plundered Collooney, where Cearball, son of Dunlaing, besieged them for a fortnight, and slaughtered them dreadfully afterwards. Other notes are made of battles between Danes and Connaughtmen about this time, showing that they moved about freely and had the upper hand in these countries in spite of occasional reverses. Dr. Lynch writes: "We read that Turgesius . . . destroyed by fire the temple of the church of Mayo, which was roofed with sheets of lead."[1]

Turgeis, or Turgesius, was taken prisoner and drowned by Maelseachlainn, King of Meath. He had conquered Ireland to a great extent, and was fierce against Christians. For some time after his death Connaught seems to have suffered little from the Danes.

In 848 (F.M.) Loch Laeigh in Umall ran off into the sea. This seems to record the bursting of a bog lake. The place is not known.

In 887 the Hy Awley slaughtered the foreigners and killed one of their chiefs, Elair, son of Bairid (F.M.).

In 912 (A.U.) "a hosting by Niall, son of Aedh, to Connaught; and he gained a battle over the warriors of the north of Connaught, viz., over the Ui-Amalgaidh and the men of Umhall, who lost great numbers between slain and prisoners, including Maelcluithe, son of Conor." Niall, called Glunduff, was afterwards King of Ireland. I cannot identify Maelcluithe.

In 927 (F.M.) the foreigners of Limerick went upon Lough Corrib and plundered the crannoges and strong places, but were slaughtered by the Connaughtmen next year.

In 936 they plundered all Connaught up to Moylurg and Slieve Baune.

In 938 (F.M.) Cairbre O'Cinaeidh, lord of the Ui-Aitheachda, died. This tribe gave its name to Touaghty in Carra, Tuath Aitheachda. It is the only mention of them in the Annals.

In 964 (F.M.) Fearghal O'Ruairc, King of Connaught, and Taichleach O'Gadhra, King of Luighne, invaded South Connaught. They were defeated by the Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, and O'Gadhra and 700 men were slain in Burren of Corcumroe.

In 983 (F.M.) Aedh O'Dubhda, King of North Connaught, died. The pedigree is evidently defective between Aedh and his ancestor

[1] Camb. Ev., ii. 191.

Donncathy. Two or three more are needed to span more than two hundred years. The O'Conor pedigree has six generations from Tomaltach, son of Murgil, to Conor, son of Tadhg of Three Towers, contemporaries of Donncathy and Aedh.

According to MacFirbis, Aedh and his father made arrangements with O'Caomhain, head of the senior line of the race of Fiachra Elgach when the sovereignty was settled in the line of Dubhda, which are set out here as they illustrate the mode of growth and settlement of clans, showing how some clans got greater hereditary estates than others of the same race. These were a partition of territory and honours. O'Caomhain received as his lordship the land from the Leaffony river to Toomour, and the Tuath Ruisen in Carra, now mainly represented by the parishes of Rosslee and Touaghty. He got about half the land of the Hy Fiachrach of the Moy. He was allowed also the following privileges and distinctions:—

1. Of first sitting in the drinking-house.
2. Of arranging the battle.
3. That O'Dubhda should stand up before him when he meets him or wherever he may be.
4. That O'Caomhain shall take the first drink and bath.
5. That whoever takes his first arms in his territory shall take them from the descendants of Diarmaid, son of Cathal, son of Caomhan.
6. That O'Caomhain shall get the Luach leasa (a fine on marriage) of every king's daughter; and the steed and battle dress of every king among them for ever, after his being inaugurated, and that the like should be given by them to the Ollav—that is, to MacFirbis.

The remaining twenty years of the century are marked by the efforts of Maelseachlainn of Meath and Brian Boro to gain supremacy over Connaught, which was generally on Brian's side, as it was invaded by Maelseachlainn in 983, 992, and 997. It does not appear that he penetrated to Mayo, or what parts the Mayo lords played. By the year 1000 Brian made good his supremacy over O'Conor and O'Rourk, and is said to have received hostages from all Connaught in one week in 1001. According to the copy of Keating's History used for O'Connor's translation, he levied a tribute of 800 cows and 800 hogs, paid on 1st November.

In 988 Conor, son of Donnell, King of Luighne, died, and in 993 the Gailenga killed Fogartach, son of Diarmait, son of Uathmaran, lord of the Corcofirtri (A.T., F.M.).

In 1002 Conor, son of Maelseachlainn, lord of Corcamodhruadh and Aicher Ua Traigthech, and many others, were slain by the men of Umall in West Connaught (F.M., A.T.). This seems to have been a raid on behalf of Brian.

In 1005 Maelruanaidh, son of Aedh O'Dubhda, King of Hy Fiachrach of Murrisk, and his son Maelseachlainn and his brother Gebennach died (A.U.).

In 1014 the battle of Clontarf ended the Danish invasions, but did not end the internal wars and robbery, which were worse than before, or are more fully recorded than before.

The *Chronicum Scotorum* gives these obits of the Luighne at this period:—

848. Tuathchar, son of Cobhthach, king, died.
921. Uathmaran, son of Dobhailen, king, died.
945. Domnall, son of Maelmuaidh, king, was slain by the son of Uathmaran, son of Dobhailen, and by the Corcofirtri.
983. Diarmaid, son of Domnall, king, died.

The Round Towers are held to have been a result of the incursions of the Northmen, built as places of refuge for ecclesiastics and safety for relics and treasures of churches. They date from about the year 900, to which period the Tower of Turlough is assigned by Miss Stokes, who attributes those of Aghagower and Meelick to the period from 973 to 1013, and those of Killala and Balla to the close of the twelfth century. They mark the fact that an important monastery or church then existed at their site, and in the county of Mayo seem to mark the principal church of an important tribe—Killala for the Hy Awley, Turlough for the Clanncuain, Balla for Carra and Hy Fiachrach Muaidhe, Meelick for the Gailenga, Aghagower for Clann Maille. They show improvement in architecture, as do the contemporaneous churches. About the same time, in the tenth century, the Irish Romanesque or Decorated style came in, showing a very great advance upon the early churches. They are much larger, usually from forty to sixty feet in length, the doors and windows being progressively more ornamental, and masonry often wholly of cut stone, until this style, having attained a high degree of artistic beauty and architectural power in the development of the stone roof, was superseded by the Gothic style introduced in the twelfth century. Those that remain in this county are much ruined, or have been altered in part to the Gothic style.

In 1021 MacConcannon, lord of Hy Diarmada, was killed by O'Gadhra. In 1023 O'Conor, King of Connaught, made an expedition into Brefne, where he killed Donnell O'Hara, King of Luighne. In 1024 occurred "the battle of Ath na Croisi in Corann, between Ua Maeldoraidh, *i.e.* King of Cenel Conaill, and Ua Ruairc, when O'Ruairc was defeated, and a terrible slaughter of the men of Brefne and Connacht was committed by the Cenel Conaill" (L.C., A.U., F.M., A.T.). The O'Haras and O'Garas seem to have been opposed to

O'Conor and on the side of O'Ruairc in the years 1021 and 1023, and to have been on his side, together with O'Ruairc, in 1024, combining to resist the Ulstermen. But this reading depends on the description of those who were killed as "of Brefne and Connacht." So it may have been only a successful raid against O'Rourk and his allies, who could not resist Ulster without help from O'Conor. All accounts call it a defeat of O'Rourk, who is said to have lost 2000 men.

In 1030 Donncad, lord of Cairbre, was killed by the Hy Fiachrach of Murrisk before the house of Adamnan's shrine, that is, at Skreen (F.M.).

In 1032 Conor, son of Maelseachlainn O'Dubhda, was killed by his cousin, the son of Niall O'Dubhda (A.T.).

In 1051 Aedh O'Conor, King of Connaught, defeated and killed many of the Conmaicne in Sliabh Formaeile. He blinded Amalgaid O'Flaherty, King of West Connaught, and fixed his residence at Tuam (F.M., A.T.). In 1055 he preyed Luighne.

In 1059 Aedh O'Dubhda, King of Hy Awley, and Duarcan O'Hara, King of Luighne, were killed by their own people, and Ruaidhri O'Gadhra was slain (A.T., A.U.).

The remainder of this century was marked by the fighting of Connaught against the kings of Ulster and Munster, who sought to establish supremacy over Connaught, and by the quarrels of O'Conors and O'Rourks and O'Flaherties, who were fairly evenly matched. The O'Conors rather lost ground until Torlogh Mor became King of Connaught and made himself King of Ireland. Mayo territories are seldom mentioned in these affairs.

In 1063 MacLochlainn, King of Ulster, invaded Connaught as far as the Moy and the west of Luighne, when O'Conor and the chiefs of Connaught submitted. "The cave of Alla, in Cera, was captured by the Connaughtmen, against the people of Aedh Ua Conchobair, in which one hundred and sixty persons were suffocated" (L.C. and A.U.). But the F.M. say that the cave of Alla Gerc in Carra was taken by the Conmaicne against the Connaughtmen, that the cave was demolished, and that the jewels of Connaught were carried off thence. It seems to me that two events have been mixed, the descent or raid of MacLochlainn on Connaught and a fight between the Conmaicne of Moyrein and O'Conor. The cave has been assumed to be Aille, near Westport, which, in my opinion, never was in Carra. That is a cliff where a river runs into natural caves, which could not be destroyed. There are no signs of ancient fortifications near it.

The Four Masters seem to give it the full name Alla Gerc. It is evident that a fort was captured with an artificial cave which was destroyed. It cannot be identified as in Carra, and, considering the evident inaccuracy of parts of the record, may be elsewhere. There

was a once well-known stone cave in Grecraighi in which Grec Mac Arodh found Cormac MacArt after his birth in Luigni Firtri's house, according to the Legend of the Birth of Cormac.[1]

In 1067 Donnslevy O'Gara, prince of Luighne, was killed by Brian O'Gara.

Torlogh O'Brien of Thomond brought an army of men of Munster, Leinster, and Ossory and encamped at Lough Hacket, whence we must suppose that at least the south of Mayo was plundered. Ruaidhri O'Conor submitted to Torlogh in 1076, but the submission must have been temporary, as Torlogh came again in 1079 and drove him out of Connaught, bringing a fleet as well as an army, for he "went upon Loch Beannchair, and Innsi Modh, and plundered the Cruach" (F.M.). Loch Beannchair is Tullaghan Bay, Innsi Modh are the islands of Clew Bay, and the Cruach is probably that from which Ballycroy takes its name (F.M.).

In 1088 Murtough O'Brien attacked Ruaidhri and sent a fleet round to the west coast, but Ruaidhri slaughtered its crews.

Cæsar Otway records in his "Sketches in Erris and Tyrawley," p. 60, that the Leacht Air Iorruis, Monument of Slaughter of Erris, "a rude conical pillar of stones," was said to have been the scene of the slaughter of an invading army from Munster. A semi-spherical mound a mile and a half from it was called after the King of Munster, in which many years before had been found a skeleton standing upright. The Laght is near Binghamstown in the Mullet, and may very well commemorate one of these invasions and the defeat of the invaders. But the mound burial seems to be much too early for this period, and we must suppose that the tradition of the invasion from Munster has attached itself to the ancient burial mound. They must have been but a small party engaged in robbing the country, as no great force could have been in these parts to resist them.

In 1090 Taichleach O'Hara was taken prisoner (A.U.).

In 1091 Laidgnen, *i.e.* the Buidennach O'Duinncathaigh, lord of Gailenga, was slain by the Hy Briuin (F.M.).

In 1092 Ruaidhri O'Conor was treacherously blinded by his foster-son O'Flaherty. Until Torlogh Mor rose to power the O'Conors were depressed, they and O'Rourks and O'Flaherties were incessantly fighting, and Connaught suffered many invasions because there was no king able to protect it. O'Brien was the principal assailant. He tried to effect a partition of Connaught, making O'Rourk chief king of Connaught, and having O'Flaherty as an ally. On one of these occasions, 1093, O'Brien is said to have encamped in the plain of the Hy Fiachrach from midsummer to St. Michael's Day. Lough Hacket seems to have been usually made O'Brien's headquarters.

[1] "Silva Gadelica," ii. p. 278.

In 1094 Gilla na nInghen Ua Cobhthaigh, King of Umall, Airchinnech of Aghagower, was killed by the men of Carra (F.M.).

In 1095 Taichleach O'Hara, lord of Luighne, was slain with many of his people by the Conmaicne of Dunmore, and in 1096 Murtough O'Dubhda, king of the Hy Fiachrach, was slain treacherously by his own people (A.T., F.M.).

Connaught seems now to have had some respite from O'Brien invasions, in which at least South Mayo must have suffered severely. O'Dowda was usually on O'Conor's side.

In 1106 Murtough O'Brien deposed Donnell O'Conor and made his younger brother Torlogh king in his place, being then nineteen years old, whose power increased until he was able to make good his title of King of Ireland in 1136. Why he was able so soon to raise the power of the Silmurray does not appear. It may be supposed that he showed great abilities for war, and as O'Rourks and O'Flaherties were somewhat depressed by the incessant wars and invasions, the minor tribes adhered to him for protection's sake, and eventually the greater, who would find it more to their advantage to join Torlogh in successful invasions of other countries than to resist him and suffer invasion from him. Great as he made himself, it must be remembered that he was such a king as Brian Boro before him, who forced himself by fighting into the highest position. There was no government, no administration of public affairs, only supremacy and power of levying tribute from weaker kings.

In consequence of his power, we may suppose that Mayo men were increasing in prosperity owing to freedom from plundering and the profits of plunder of other provinces, whereof those who joined in expeditions would share. But few references to Mayo men and countries are found.

In 1113 "a thunderbolt fell on Cruachan Aigle in the night of the festival of St. Patrick, which destroyed thirty of the fasting people" (L.C.). This seems to be the event recorded under 1106 in C.S.: "Ua Longain Airchinnech of Ard-Patrick was burned by lightning in Cruach-Padraig." Cruachan Aigle is near Oughaval, near Westport.

In 1123 Tadhg O'Malley was drowned with his ship at Arann (A.T.).

In 1126 Torlogh invaded Munster and encamped in Ormond. Donnell Finn O'Dowda, lord of the Hy Awley, was drowned as he was bringing back the prey from the baronies of Connello in Co. Limerick. Torlogh was helped by a Connaught fleet on this occasion, and again in the following year when it defeated the Munster fleet.

In 1128 Mayo men were out with him invading Meath and Leinster, when he went as far south as Wexford. O'Gara, lord of Luighne, was

killed. Meanwhile Tigernan O'Rourk led the forces of Brefne, the Hy Fiachrach, and others against Ulster. The cavalry of Conor, son of MacLochlin, defeated the cavalry of O'Rourk and killed Taichleach, son of Aedh O'Dowda. This defeat seems to have led Torlogh to make a truce with O'Brien until 1130, when he took a fleet to Desmond and another as far as Tory Island, which plundered Rosguill. In 1131 O'Malley was slain by Donnell O'Dowda's son in the stone church of Oughaval, but within three months his own spear killed him "through the miracle of Columcille."

Torlogh fared ill now, and O'Rourk had to submit to Conor O'Lochlin. He was much hampered by family quarrels at this time.

In 1133 Cormac MacCarthy and Conor O'Brien invaded Connaught and plundered a great part of the country, and destroyed Dunmore and Dun Mughdhord, now represented by Doon Castle, near Westport. O'Rourk plundered the Hy Fiachrach. Torlogh and O'Brien made peace for a year.

In 1135 Awliff, son of Donnell Finn O'Dowda, lord of Hy Awley, was slain by his own people.

About this period the kingdom of Luighne seems to have been practically broken into two separate kingdoms under O'Gara and O'Hara, the former holding as his kingdom so much as is in the county of Mayo, with the country of the Gregry under him. The O'Haras may be held to be no longer Mayo men, having no supremacy over Gailenga. The next few years are marked by great internal disorder in Connaught and by Torlogh's quarrels with his sons and other troubles. His weakness led to quarrels among the chieftains, and actions of unusual violence on his part, but by 1142 he overcame his troubles and made his power felt by the other provinces.

In 1137 Tuam, Cong, Termon Caillainne, Mayo, and Kilboyounagh were burnt, apparently by invaders, though they are not named, or by Connaught tribes, as Torlogh was fighting with O'Rourk and O'Melaghlin, and punished his own subject O'Concannon. "All the province of Connaught was laid waste from the Drowes to the Shannon and to Echtghe, and the people themselves were driven into West Connaught." But by 1142 Brefne, Teffa, and Meath had to submit to Torlogh.

In 1143 Aedh, son of Murtough O'Dowda, lord of Hy Fiachrach, died (A.T.).

In 1147 Duarcan O'Hara was killed by O'Gara (A.T.).

In 1153 the Hy Fiachrach were in an army led into Meath by Torlogh's son Ruaidhri, who encamped at Fordruim on the way back, without sending out scouts. The Ulstermen surprised them as they were pitching camp and killed many, including Brian O'Dowda, lord of Hy Fiachrach.

In 1154 "a fleet was brought by Torlogh O'Conor round Ireland northwards—*i.e.* the fleets of Dun Gaillimhe, of Conmaicne Mara, of the men of Umall, of Hy Awley, of Hy Fiachrach, and the Cosnamhaigh O'Dowda in command over them—and they plundered Tirconnell and Inishowen. The Cinel Owen and Muircheartach, son of Niall, sent persons over sea, who hired the fleets of the Gall Gael, of Ara, of Cantire, of Man, and the borders of Alba in general, over which MacScelling was in command; and when they arrived near Inishowen they fell in with the other fleet and a naval battle was fiercely and spiritedly fought between them; and they continued the conflict from the beginning of the day until evening, and a great number of the Connaughtmen together with Cosnamhaigh O'Dowda were slain by the foreigners. The foreign host was defeated and slaughtered; they left their ships behind, and the teeth of MacScelling were knocked out" (F.M.). But Murtough O'Lochlin plundered Moy Ai and Moylurg.

Torlogh seems to have made more use of ships than is recorded of any other king. The Mayo and Galway people seem to have been more seafaring than the other seaside people, or else Torlogh was the first to use ships on a large scale.

It is not clear who this Cosnamhaigh was. Cosnamhaigh whose death is recorded in 1162, and Cosnamhaigh whose death is recorded in 1181, are called respectively lord and crown prince of Hy Awley, and of the former MacFirbis writes: "Cosnamhaigh Mor, the only fighter of a hundred that came in later times, and who was treacherously slain by O'Gloinin in his own house at Inis Cua, on account of (a dispute about) a greyhound whelp" (H.F. 113). I am inclined, therefore, to think that there were three of the name about the same period, and that they were of the Clann Domnaill of Loch Con. In their description there is some small indication that this clan had been placed over, or among, the Hy Awley by a partition of the lordship, so that the Hy Awley no longer were directly under O'Dowda. Their ancestor had been killed by the O'Gaughans at Bearna Domnaill in Moyheleog.

In 1155 Fiachra, son of Cethearnach O'Ceirin, lord of Kerylough-narney, died.

Torlogh Mor died at Dunmore on the 20th May 1056, and his son Ruaidhri became King of Connaught.

The Cross of Cong was made to hold a piece of the Cross which was sent to Torlogh in 1123. Torlogh built a great cathedral at Tuam, of which the chancel arch remains, used as a doorway. He built castles at Galway and Dunlo and Collooney.

Ruaidhri O'Conor's attempt to succeed to the title of King of Ireland was resisted by Murtough O'Lochlin, who was too powerful

for him. He was beaten near Ardu in 1159 with great loss. The son of Finnan Ua Sibhlen, King of the Hy Eachach of the Moy, was slain. O'Lochlin carried the war into Connaught, and burnt Dunmore and Dunciarraighe and Dun na nGall. Dunciarraighe is not known. Dun na nGall is the great fort in Ballynacarrach to the west of Kilmaine. But Tigernach's continuation notes only that after burning Dunmore he marched as far as Dun na nGall.

In this year Dermot, son of Teige O'Mulrony, King of Moylurg and of the Aicidecht, died. In 1187 the death of his son Maurice is recorded "in his own mansion on Claenloch in Clann Chuain." This house was probably Boyd's Island Crannoge in Lough Lannagh near Castlebar. "Aicideacht," "Chiefry" is a name of Clann Cuain territory. The tradition was that Ruaidhri Mear, son of Taichleach, son of Niall O'Dowda, being king, came to cosher on Donnell O'Quin, chief of Clann Cuain, and took his daughter by force. O'Quin killed Ruaidhri next morning, and then placed himself under the protection of O'Mulrony, afterwards called MacDermot. MacFirbis places Ruaidhri in the list of kings next after Aedh, who died in 1143, but does not date his death. It is likely that the story and date are accurate, but the grandfather of Ruaidhri must be an earlier Niall than was supposed by MacFirbis.

O'Lochlin was too strong for Ruaidhri O'Conor, who now endeavoured to subdue Meath, Leinster, and Munster. The death of O'Lochlin in 1166 left him by far the most powerful king, and he became King of Ireland. Thus Connaught had an unusual degree of freedom from foreign devastation for some years.

In 1169 the Normans invaded Ireland.

A tract written by Torna O'Mulconaire, who was chief poet of Connaught in 1310, shows the change in the relation of the O'Conor kings of Connaught to the kings of the Hy Fiachrach, of Luighne, and of Umhall since the time of the Book of Rights. It must be taken to show the claims which O'Conor enforced, when he could, until the de Burgo conquest. The following is O'Donovan's translation of a part: "These are the stipends of the royal chieftains of Connacht from O'Conchobhair, *i.e.* twelve score beeves and twelve score sheep on May-day to MacOireachtaigh; twelve score beeves and twelve score hogs to himself every All-hallow-tide, and these are levied from Ubhall. Twelve score milch cows and twelve score sheep on May-day to O'Fionnachtaigh; twelve score hogs and twelve score beeves every All-hallow-tide to himself, and these are levied for him from Luighne Chonnacht. Twelve score milch cows and twelve score sheep to O'Maoilbhrenuinn every May-day; twelve score beeves and twelve score hogs every All-hallow-tide to himself, and these are levied for him from Tir Fhiachrach, and from Cuil

Cnamha, and from Cuil Cearnamha. Twelve score milch cows and twelve score sheep on May-day to O'Flannagain; and twelve score beeves and twelve score hogs every All-hallow-tide to himself, and these are levied in Tir-Amhalghaidh and in Irrus."

The Danish invasions did much to shatter the frame of the Irish Church which had grown up while the Western Roman Empire was in disorder. When Ireland settled down to better conditions the western parts of Europe had been reorganised. As before the year 800 we find the Church of Ireland by degrees, and after contest, abandoning certain points of ritual and practice in favour of the Roman views, so from the tenth century we see signs of another change, from the jurisdiction of abbots over the monks and monasteries of their order to that of a bishop over a defined area.

By the close of the tenth century the Annals mention a Bishop of Connaught; by the close of the eleventh he is called Archbishop of Connaught. We do not see what went on locally during these centuries, but we find that the principle of territorial episcopacy was accepted by the close of the eleventh. The work of the twelfth-century reformers was to establish discipline and organisation on the continental model by affixing to certain sees an exclusive territorial jurisdiction, and by submitting the whole Church to the jurisdiction of the pope. The first point was formally accepted and carried into operation at the Synod of Fiadh Mic Aenghusa in 1111 and at that of Rath Breasail in 1118, and the second point at that of Kells in 1152, when the Church of Ireland ceased to exist as an independent Church, and became a branch of the Church of Rome, four archbishops being appointed and receiving palls from the pope.

The Synod of Rath Breasail proposed five sees for Connaught, with liberty to the people of Connaught to rearrange them, provided they did not exceed five in number. Under this arrangement Mayo would have been divided between the sees of Killala and Cong. Killala was to comprise the present diocese with the barony of Carbury in Sligo and the diocese of Achonry. Cong was to comprise all the rest of Mayo, and the lands of the Conmaicne in the baronies of Ross and Ballynahinch, and those of the Ciarraige in the county of Roscommon as far east as Castlereagh.

But it was found impossible to absorb the sees of important tribes, the O'Flaherties, O'Heynes, O'Garas, and O'Haras. Either at once or before the Synod of Kells the Mayo arrangements were modified, and dioceses formed as they appear at the Synod of Kells. The diocese of Killala was the immediate kingdom of O'Dowda. That of Achonry was the kingdom of the Luighne and Gailenga. That of Cong was altered by transfer of the four southern parishes of the barony of Costello to Tuam, and of the Roscommon lands to Ardcarne

or Elphin. It is given a new name and called the diocese of Mayo at the Synod of Kells, having Mayo Abbey Church as its cathedral. It does not appear that there ever was a bishopric of Cong, as a diocese including Mayo; the see may have been fixed at Mayo from the beginning. The diocese of Mayo was amalgamated with that of Tuam in 1209.

The Bishop of Tuam became Archbishop because the O'Conor kings of Connaught had made Tuam their chief residence during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and because Torlogh Mor was so powerful in the middle of the twelfth century.

This transfer of power affected the position of the abbots and changed the organisation of the Church. The ancient orders decayed and most of the monasteries disappeared as active monastic bodies. It seems clear that the old rules, those of Patrick, Ciaran, Columcille, Brendan, Coman, and Fechin prevailing generally in Mayo, were abandoned during the twelfth century. The endowments remained vested in the successors of Patrick, etc. In 1210 these endowments were formally transferred to the bishop of the diocese in which they lay. The note in the Annals of Clonmacnoise recording this event mentions Comarb and Termon lands as transferred. The distinction is not clear, but I apprehend Comarb lands to comprise any lands, and Termon lands to be those lands immediately round a church which got the name of Termon from early rights of sanctuary. I see some indications that distinction was made between endowments given to the ancient Comarb or church, and those given to the abbot and convent of New Augustinian Canons, which were left to them. Hence it is that the bishop so generally owned the lands about the ancient parish churches.

The monasteries which survived converted themselves into Augustinian Canons, or were transformed into cathedral chapters, as in the case of vicars choral in Tuam and Annaghdown. In some cases dean and provost or precentor seem to represent abbot and Ferlegind of the ancient abbey; prebendaries and canons seem to represent them in some cases. But the subject is obscure. The abbot being often himself a bishop, the change was easy in such a case.

The Abbey of Mayo became cathedral. Cong, Inishmaine, and Errew reconstituted themselves. All others disappeared. Errew seems to have been built in the twelfth century under the influence of the new style introduced by the Cistercians, but before Irish architects were familiar with it. Cong was reconstructed at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and Inishmaine at about the same time.

Until the de Burgo conquest no other orders were established in Mayo.

The reduction of the number of dioceses was followed by a reduction of the number of parishes. This seems to have been carried out at the end of the century in these dioceses, as we find, in the epistle of Pope Innocent III. of 1st April 1198 defining the extent of the diocese of Killala, a list of forty-seven parish churches in Tirawley and Erris, reduced in 1306, in the Ecclesiastical Taxation, to twenty parishes, while in Tireragh there are the same number as in 1306, those recognised in the present day. Yet there are other old churches in Tireragh, and I suppose the amalgamation to have been carried out there first because Tireragh had in very early times been under the Abbey of Balla generally.

CHAPTER VI.

RELATIONS OF THE KING OF CONNAUGHT WITH THE KING OF ENGLAND IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES.

By the treaty of Windsor in 1175, Ruaidhri O'Conor became the vassal of the King of England. He could not execute the conditions he had undertaken, not having the control over the kings and lords of Ireland thereby made his vassals, or the organised administration needed to secure collection and payment of dues and tributes.

The invasion of Connaught in 1177 was not made on behalf of King Henry. Murrough O'Conor engaged Milo de Cogan and his soldiers to support him in assuming the sovereignty of Connaught. The rebellion failed, and was but an ordinary event of Irish clan quarrels, in which, by custom of the country, each side got what outside support it could.

It is a commonplace of Irish history that Henry II. gave his justiciary, William FitzAudelin, a grant of Connaught in 1179, but I cannot find authority for it, or even a reference to any authority. It is perhaps due to the confusion of William FitzAudelin with William de Burgo, and to a misreading of a date of some grant. If a grant was made it was inoperative. The Annals do not record events to account for it. All other grants follow upon events recorded in the Annals or in the English Records. Several grants of this period were inoperative, made in view of contingencies which did not arise.

Conor Moenmoy, having forced his father into retirement, joined O'Melaghlin in destroying an English castle at Killare in 1184. This was an aggression, as Meath was reserved to the King of England. Ruaidhri returned in 1185 to recover his kingdom with the help of the O'Briens and English from Munster, but failed. The entries in the Annals of Loch Cé go to show that John de Courcy's invasion in 1188 was due to Henry's endeavour to restore Ruaidhri.

In 1195 Cathal Crobhderg invaded Munster, but made peace at Athlone, whereby Cathal's position as King of Connaught was recognised, *de facto* if not *de jure*. Up to this time the King of

England made no attack on the King of Connaught, but the actual kings of Connaught, Conor and Cathal, made two unprovoked attacks upon the land of their lord.

The Gormanston Register has a charter of about 1195, wherein W. de Burgo grants to Hugh de Lacy ten cantreds of Connaught, the Three Tuaths, Moylurg-Tirerrill, Corran, Carbury Drumcliff, Tireraghmoy, the two cantreds of Tirawley, Erris, Leyny, Slievelua, for 100 marks yearly and the service of ten knights. W. de Burgo must have had a grant from the king, given to him to enable him to raise forces against Cathal. We may take it to have been the consequence of Cathal's invasion of Munster, and to have been made inoperative by the peace of Athlone.

After Ruaidhri's death in 1198, and an arrangement between the Cathals whereby Cathal Carrach got a large tract in the south of Connaught as a lordship, Cathal Crobhderg in 1199 and 1200 attacked the English at Athlone and invaded Munster, where he took William de Burgo's Castle Wilkin and Castle Connell. This was aggression by Cathal. The Justiciary and William de Burgo entered into treaty with Cathal Carrach to set him up as king.

In 1200 and 1201 King John began to make grants of land in Connaught. He gave Tirmany, which was something more than the barony of Athlone, and Tirieghrathbothe, which was a tract of land next the Castle of Athlone, to Geoffrey de Costentin, and Dungalue—Galway, or perhaps Galey on Lough Ree—to Richard Tirel. The grantees never had possession.

While John was Earl of Mortaigne he made an inoperative grant to Hugh de Lacy of six cantreds of North Connaught, which may be attributed to 1195, or more probably to 1199, when Cathal Crobhderg was in possession of North Connaught.

In 1201 Cathal Crobhderg made terms and was brought back to Connaught. The death of Cathal Carrach left him without a rival in his family. But the murder of 600 to 700 of William de Burgo's soldiers caused a war between Cathal and William, which seems to have been considered a private affair. In 1203 William took up the cause of Conor Moenmoy's sons and advanced as far north as Mayo. King John took up Cathal's cause. William made no resistance. He surrendered his castles peaceably to the king, who certainly fulfilled his obligations to Cathal. William appeared before the king in October 1203, and justified his conduct, as he was allowed to return in 1204 and was given possession of all his castles.

At some time he had a grant of some parts of Connaught, as he made grants. But it was certainly inoperative.

In March 1204 the king appointed Meyler FitzHenry and the Archdeacon of Stafford to settle all matters between him and Cathal

by the advice of Walter de Lacy. By August an agreement was made that Cathal should give up two thirds of Connaught and keep one third by right of inheritance at a yearly rent of 100 marks. In 1205 the king accepted another proposal by Cathal, that Cathal should hold of the king in fee as a barony one third of Connaught at 100 marks a year, and should pay for the other two thirds a tribute of 300 marks, and out of them grant two cantreds to the king. This arrangement lasted for some time.

The cause of surrender of two thirds I take to have been Cathal's inability to pay the costs of the armies which were raised on his behalf. It was very difficult at all times for an Irish king to raise money or cattle from his people, for one in Cathal's circumstances impossible. The arrangement obviated difficulties. Considering the King of Connaught's attack upon his lord's lands, and the great expense of the wars consequent upon it, the settlement does not seem oppressive.

In 1207 the king pardoned Gilbert and Philip de Angulo, who had been outlawed in 1195, and confirmed Cathal's grant of the cantred of Moenmagh to Gilbert, who had taken service under Cathal in 1195. At the same time the king granted to Gilbert a cantred of land in Eastyre, Wintelmolman, Ul'unan, and Nyaki to hold by service of four knights. Eastyre and Nyaki I cannot guess at, but Wintelmolman and Ul'unan may be taken to be Muintir-Mailfhinnain and O'Loman. There was an O'Loman at Finnure in Abbeygormican parish. Muintir-Mailfhinnain appears in 1333 as the title of a great cantred which extended to that neighbourhood. So the king's grant may be taken to have been one of his two cantreds lying between Moenmagh and the cantred next Athlone.

King John came to Ireland in 1210. Cathal met him and arranged that John should give his son Aedh a charter for the third part of Connaught, and that he should give Aedh to John as a hostage. The annalist blames Cathal's wife for advising Cathal to break his engagement. John de Gray, the new justiciary, invaded Connaught. Cathal submitted, and gave his son Torlogh as a hostage. But it does not appear that the proposed arrangement was carried out.

Something seems to have occurred in 1215 which caused the king to provide for new arrangements in regard to Connaught by grants[1] of the same date, one to Richard de Burgo of "all the land of Connac' which William his father held of the king in fee farm rendering yearly 300 marks, . . . saving to the king the castle of Athlone, with the cantred in which it is situated; and saving to Godfrey de Constentin the cantred[2] given to him by the king in exchange for the former cantred; Godfrey to render homage and due

[1] D.I., i., Nos. 653, 654, 656.

[2] Tri Tuatha, D.I., i., No. 590.

service to Richard de Burgh; saving to the king *donationes crociarum* in that land"; and one to the King of Connaught of all the land of Connaught saving to the king the castle of Athlone, in fee during good service, not to be dispossessed save by order of the King's Court, at 300 marks yearly. Another paper shows that Cathal had agreed to pay 5000 marks for this grant. The grant to R. de Burgh was to provide for failure of Cathal to accept his grant in accordance with agreement. This settlement lasted for some years.

In 1221 Walter de Lacy built a castle at Lanesborough in Annaly, a country not included in the kingdom of Connaught. Cathal invaded West Meath and took the castle. This aggression was arranged somehow.

In 1224 Cathal's son Aedh helped the king in the war against the de Lacys, and was given for his expenses temporary possession of the land of Tirbriuin, Conmaicne, and Caladh—that is, of all O'Rourk's kingdom except the northern part of Leitrim.

The justiciary supported Aedh in succession to Cathal, who died in 1224.

On the 25th June 1226 Geoffrey de Marisco was made justiciary in succession to William the Earl Marshall. On the 30th June orders were made for his guidance. He was to summon "Oethus, son of Kathal, late King of Connaught, to be before the justiciary at the King's Court, to surrender the land of Connaught, which he ought no longer to hold on account of his father's and his own forfeiture; by the charter of King John granted to Kathal, he only held the land so long as he should faithfully serve the king. If Oethus do not surrender the land, the justiciary shall by the Court ascertain the truth of the forfeiture; and if he forfeited the land, the justiciary shall take it into the K.'s hand."[1] It was further ordered at the same time that, on taking into the king's hand the land of Connaught on account of the forfeiture of Oethus, he grant seisin thereof to Richard de Burgo at a rent of 300 marks for the first five years and 500 marks subsequently; five of the best cantreds nearest Athlone to be retained for the king.[2]

A report by Geoffrey to the king shows that resistance was feared; it is undated, but was made about August, soon after he landed. William made no resistance. Geoffrey reported that all the king's castles were held and fortified against him, except that of Limerick held by Richard de Burgo. But he believed that it was not William Marshall's wish that his bailiffs should hold them against the king. "All the Irish are so banded together, and so wheedled by William Crassus, that they cannot be recalled from their conspiracy." . . . "As to the King of Connaught, who at the instigation of William

[1] D.I., i., No. 1402. [2] D.I., i., No. 1403.

Crassus has become heedless of the king's mandates, the justiciary summoned him to come to Dublin under safe conduct of Walter de Lacy; as the king did not come, the justiciary appointed a day for him at the K.'s castle of Athlone, which is on the confines of the king's territory, and is fortified with men and provisions against the K."

It is evident that Aedh was to be brought to trial in the usual way if he denied the forfeiture, and that the result was not prejudged. Provision was made for the case of forfeiture. This grant to Richard did not come into operation. Aedh was given an opportunity again of coming to terms. It is to be remembered that he held the land from the king as a baron. But the idea of trial or submission to a court would not commend itself to an Irish prince who acknowledged no right but force.

From the Annals of Loch Cé we learn that when Aedh appeared at Athlone he seized the messengers sent to treat with him, burnt the town of Athlone, killed the constable of the castle, and released the hostages of Connaught. The Annals say that William Marshall forcibly took him out of the King's Court when he was betrayed there. This is certainly wrong. The course of events was that William Marshall was suspected of an intention to rebel, and perhaps did make preparations, that a plot was made among the Irish lords on his behalf, in which Aedh joined, and that Aedh did not submit quietly as William Marshall did when the new justiciary came. This Athlone affair committed Aedh to open war.

On the 21st May 1228 Richard de Burgo got a grant in fee of all Connaught which had come to the king by Aedh's forfeiture, at a rent of 300 marks for the first five years and 500 marks a year afterwards, and for the service of ten knights; the king retained five cantreds and reserved episcopal investitures. This grant is the origin of the de Burgo lordship of Connaught.

The five cantreds, afterwards known as "the King's Cantreds," were—Omany, Tirmany, Moy Ai, the Three Tuaths, Moylurg, and Tirerrill.

Tirmany comprised the baronies of Athlone, part of Ballymoe in Roscommon and Galway, some land north of Roscommon, and some more land west of the Suck in Killian. Omany comprised the baronies of Kilconnell, Clonmacnowen, Moycarn, and some more. The boundaries of these cantreds are uncertain in places.

A ten years' war ensued before the O'Conors and their allies were subdued, and Richard de Burgo and his barons were established and fortified in their demesnes in 1237. The king made various grants in his cantreds which came to nothing. He held only the castles of Athlone and Randown and some adjoining lands. The Annals

record how various O'Conors were set up as kings of Connaught during this period. The king seems to have been willing to let the King of Connaught hold Silmurray and Moylurg, and even the whole of his five cantreds, if he could maintain his position among his own people. That was impossible for a long time. Felim O'Conor appeared eventually to be the strongest, and submitted and accepted the five cantreds in 1237, at a rent of £400 a year (35 D.K., p. 37). He endeavoured to keep the peace, and was for many years a faithful vassal, even going to help in the Welsh wars.

In 1249 Felim's son Aedh attacked the Berminghams in Tireragh. Felim supported his action. The justiciary therefore drove Felim out of the country, and made Torlogh, son of Aedh, king in his place. But peace was made with Felim, and he was restored in 1251. In 1253 it appears that Felim had held four cantreds at the king's pleasure. At this time he must have been deprived of another cantred, for the king began to give permanent tenures in Tirmany and Omany in 1252. Henceforth the kings of Connaught seem to have been only tenants at will. The Pipe Roll of ix. Edw. I. shows that Felim had held 3 cantreds under rent. The outbreak of 1245 thus appears to have cost Felim 2 cantreds. Henceforth his son Aedh was evidently beyond his control.

The O'Conors joined in O'Neill's rebellion, and continued the war in Connaught after O'Neill's defeat. The justiciary had to come into Connaught. Peace was made in 1262, and a site was chosen for the castle of Roscommon. The kings of Connaught were constantly at war with the English until Richard, the Earl of Ulster, came of age and got control of his estates, when his great power soon forced the O'Conors to confine their fighting to their own family and subjects.

This arrangement lasted until after the battle of Athenry in 1317. In 1318 Roger Mortimer let to King Torlogh the king's lands of Silmurray, Fethys (Tuathas?), and the lands of the King of Tirmany (O'Kelly), saving the lands of Englishmen and those granted in burgage.

In 1324 Torlogh was given the three cantreds which Felim had held. This was a period when Connaught kings went up and down quickly.

In 1331 the escheator reported that no income came from Richard de Exeter's Connaught lands, because Torlogh and his brother Cathal forcibly held them. It was a very troubled period for the O'Conors. The Earl had crushed them and held his own dominions with a strong hand, intervening as he pleased in their feuds. On the other hand, the King of England's power in Connaught had lapsed. No real settlements had been made by the English in Omany or Tirmany, except by David de Burgo, ancestor of MacDavid, who acquired

Clanconway, probably from the heirs of William de Oddingeseles, who was owner in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

In a few years the English power and English law were nearly extinguished by the murder of Sir Edmond de Burgo. The sons of Sir William de Burgo and their cousins, and other tenants of the infant Countess of Ulster, finding that the King was unable to punish the murder or enforce the rights of the Countess, by degrees disregarded those rights and the king's authority more and more, until they discarded English law and adopted Irish customs. So came to an end, in practice, the relation of lord and vassal or tenant between the kings of England and Connaught. But the legal rights were never forgotten by the kings of England.

After the treaty of Windsor established the relation of lord and vassal between the King of England and the King of Connaught, the former had a right to insist upon observance of the treaty. The trouble arose because the King of Connaught undertook what he could not perform. The parties were not upon an equality in respect of observance. The King of England was at the head of a powerful nation, highly organised upon a civil basis, able to enforce law against his subjects, and to carry out his engagements.

The King of Connaught was acknowledged head of several kings of a nation but slightly organised upon a tribal basis, unable to enforce law against any but his immediate subjects, his relation to the other kings being practically limited to levying tribute when he was strong enough. Moreover, his own position was insecure and the succession uncertain. The Irish chieftains could not at a moment's notice give up their habits of making raids on their neighbours, or assisting their neighbours in their conflicts with enemies, and could not understand that any treaty between the King of Connaught and the King of England affected their ancient rights and customs, and drew an imaginary line between certain districts which they must not pass. In truth such a treaty was beyond the powers of any king, and no one need regard it, any more than any other submission, unless he was compelled by force. On the other hand, by Irish custom every king was entitled to subdue any other king or tribe if he could, and if a king of Connaught, or of England, was strong enough to do so, he was within his rights according to immemorial custom.

I have here dealt only with the relations between the two kings, and have passed over the many quarrels and wars in which the kings were not considered to be involved, which were settled by the English barons without the King of England's intervention. A distinction seems to have been made between raids made by subjects on their own account and international raids, as we should call them,

taken up by the kings on both sides. The general question of right and wrong between the two kings ended with the treaty of Windsor. The subsequent wars were results of that treaty, and, as far as we can see, originated in breaches by the King of Connaught, or in rebellions and other intestine disorders in which the King of England interfered to support his vassal, who, according to the custom of the time and of the present courts of justice, had to pay the costs of being put in possession.

On the whole the King of England does not seem to have oppressed his vassal, at first probably because that vassal was very powerful, and latterly, when his power fell low, because he became useful as some counterpoise to the immense power of the de Burgo Earls of Ulster.

CHAPTER VII.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY FROM 1170 TO 1237.

THE Anglo-Norman invasion occurred when the internal conditions favoured an attack on Leinster, Meath, and Munster. For fifty years the O'Briens had resisted the O'Conor supremacy with results disastrous to Munster, especially during the later years. Meath and Leinster had been so crushed by Torlogh Mor in 1143 that he set up his son Conor as king, who was killed by the Meathmen in the next year. Ruaidhri not only compelled submission to himself as chief king, but interfered in family feuds, dividing kingdoms and setting up his own partisans. Owing to these events the kingdom of Meath was held to comprise O'Rourk's kingdom, which therefore passed by Henry II.'s grant of Meath to Hugh de Lacy, though it had been throughout the historic period within the kingdom of Connaught.

These proceedings of Torlogh and Ruaidhri, and the decay of the power of the royal families of Meath and Leinster, suggest that the foreign invasion prevented the establishment of an O'Conor as chief king of Meath, and a general repetition of very early events whereby the kings of Connaught established branches of their family in Leinster and in Meath.

Connaught had enjoyed unusual freedom from invasion under the power of those kings, and so was the stronger in relation to the other provinces, but was left a prey to disorder by the great number of their sons and grandsons who naturally quarrelled for supremacy. In ordinary course the sons of those who did not become kings would have been allotted hereditary estates, and would have formed a great Siltorly alongside of the Silmurray. The process had begun. Ruaidhri's sons were settled in Carra, Murtough Mweenagh's and Maghnus's and Cathal Migaran's in Clann Cuain and Umall, Donnell Midheach's in Carbury, where they were replaced, after fighting, by the Clann Andrias. Conor Moenmoy's son Cathal Carrach got a large assignment in Hy Many by partition with Cathal Crobhderg. The conquest of Connaught upset these arrangements, and drove the whole family into a small tract of Roscommon, except the clan of Murtough Mweenagh, who were let remain in Umall and Erris until their turbulence brought on expulsion in 1273, and the clan of

Andrias, son of Brian Luighnech, who remained in Carbury, and profited so much by submission to FitzGerald, and afterwards to de Burgo, that their head eventually became O'Conor Sligo.

There are indications that the new lords of Connaught were ready to accept the Irish chiefs as their tenants so long as those chiefs behaved fairly well. Many remained in their original territories during the Norman supremacy. For 150 years the King of Connaught's power declined steadily, and the minor kings and chiefs accepted to a certain extent their new position. The power of the de Burgo lord of Connaught and Earl of Ulster was irresistible when brought to bear, and gave those who held loyally under him a peace and security not known before, a material compensation for loss of savage independence subject to heavy and uncertain exactions of more powerful kings and to constant war and plundering.

Disorder arose not from rebellion of their own vassals against the Norman resident lords, but from O'Conors, O'Rourks, O'Donnells, O'Neills, whose territories had not been occupied, who were compelled only to submission, and were not under control unless an army was brought against them. The lord contented himself then with setting up a new chief under engagements. The Annals show a tangle of fighting, plundering, and murdering, very seldom causes and consequences. It has been taken as a matter of course that the King of Connaught was victim of a series of unprovoked attacks and injuries by the King of England and the Norman barons. The Annals and the Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, which supplement and help each other, show that the wrongs are not all on one side.

The wars and fighting fall under three heads—quarrels between the kings of Connaught and England; those between the kings of Connaught and the adjoining barons, which were not treated as wars against the King of England; the raids and rebellions against Norman lords. Those under the second head seem to have been aggressions by the Irish, but where the Normans appear as invaders they were resisting and punishing raids or taking sides in a disputed succession. The relations between the kings of England and Connaught explain most of the fighting down to 1338.

From 1228 to 1235 fighting was incessant, chiefly directed against O'Conors, those who opposed the man recognised by King Henry as King of Connaught, and those who were settled in the de Burgo part of Connaught. Richard de Burgo tried to bring them to terms, and failing to do so, drove most of them out and divided Connaught completely among his allies only after 1235. We find no evidence of settlement except the building of castles of Galway and Meelick. He tried then to keep the O'Conors and others as feudal lords under him, holding the country by means of these castles and garrisons. This

became impossible, and we know that the barons spread over Connaught and began to build castles in 1237.

Felim O'Conor accepted the new position after this. Those O'Conors who did not were driven out of the de Burgo lands. Some accepted it, as Clan Murtough Mweenagh, and remained in possession of large estates. O'Flaherty was allowed to remain on an estate in the barony of Clare until his rebellion in 1273, when he was driven out and sent to the west of Lough Corrib. O'Heyne and O'Flaherty were on R. de Burgo's side during these early wars, having submitted to him among the first.

O'Heyne, O'Flaherty, O'Kelly, O'Malley, O'Dowda, O'Hara, O'Gara seem to have been treated by Richard and his great barons much as King Henry and his successors treated O'Conor. But as regards them evidence is slight. Where English lords and colonists settled down the local Irish chiefs disappeared. But the great chiefs named above were left in possession of large estates. Where no settlements were made these chiefs recovered their position after 1338.

CHAPTER VIII.

EVENTS FROM 1170 TO 1224.

RUAIDHRI regarded his first submission to Henry II. as he regarded submission to an Irish king, and soon attacked him again. But in 1175 he came to terms in the treaty of Windsor.

In 1177 William FitzAudelin was Governor of Ireland. Murrough O'Conor came to Dublin and engaged Milo de Cogan and a force of 40 men-at-arms, 200 horse soldiers, and 300 archers, in order to dethrone his father. The Annals of Innisfallen give the fullest account of this raid, and are generally in agreement with Giraldus Cambrensis. They went direct to Roscommon, where Murrough joined them. They burnt churches in Moy Ai and Clanconway, and marched by the Togher of Moin Coinneadha, which gives Templetogher its name, to Dunmore and to Tuam, where they remained for three nights.

King Ruaidhri was touring in the west of Connaught when he heard of the invasion. No resistance was offered to the invaders, and no one joined them. Ruaidhri, or his friends, abandoned Tuam and burnt Kilmaine and Kilbennan and Lackagh and Kilcahill and Roskeen and the castle of Galway. The country was laid waste before the invaders. This action, and the failure of Murrough to secure support, showed the English that the enterprise was hopeless, and they retreated. Meanwhile Ruaidhri had collected forces and had got behind them, and had a skirmish with them as they passed over the Tochar, and attacked them again when they were crossing the Shannon at Athleague, opposite Lanesborough. Giraldus says that the engagement was unintentional on both sides, and that the English lost only three men. This must mean that it was only a skirmish with the rear, for his own account shows that the Connaughtmen waited for the English between Tuam and the river. All accounts agree that the Connaughtmen laid their own country waste and defeated the Englishmen. The expedient was effective against a heavily armed body without many Irish allies. It is also evident that such a body could not be attacked successfully by the lightly armed Irish forces except at a disadvantage in crossing a bog or ford. It is therefore probable that only three men of importance fell, as the

Irish accounts substantially agree that there was no severe fighting. This was the first appearance of an English force in Connaught. It was not an attack by the English upon the kingdom, but a rebellion by Murrough with the help of mercenaries.

Ruaidhri got hold of his sons. He blinded Murrough, and confined Conor in the island of Lough Hacket. In a year the O'Flaherty faction rescued him, and brought about a reconciliation with his father.

In 1180 Aedh O'Caithniadh, lord of Erris, was treacherously slain by O'Callaghan at Kilcommon. Auliff O'Toghda, chief of Bredagh, was killed by O'Gaughan, chief of Moyheleog. Murrough O'Lachtna was drowned in Lough Con. Thus we get an occasional glimpse of what went on when the chiefs were not engaged in war on a larger scale.

In 1182 Murrough, son of Taichleach O'Dowda, was slain by Melaghlin O'Mulrony of Moylurg.

In 1183 Bec O'Hara, lord of Leyny, was treacherously slain by Conor O'Diarmada, son of Ruaidhri O'Conor, in his own house on Lough MacFarry, now called Lough Talt.

Conor Moenmoy drove his father out of Connaught in 1184, and made himself king. Ruaidhri retired into the Abbey of Cong in 1186, where he remained until his death, except for a futile attempt to recover the sovereignty in 1189. He died there on the 29th November 1198, in his 82nd year. His body was removed to Clonmacnoise in 1207, probably in connection with the rebuilding of the great church of Cong.

In 1187 MacDermot (Maurice, son of Teige), lord of Moylurg, died in his own mansion on Claenloch, in Clann Chuain. This house was probably Boyd's Island, near Castlebar—formerly a crannoge, since drainage a peninsula—if Lough Lannagh be the Claenloch.

When Conor Moenmoy was murdered in 1189, Cathal Crobhderg became king after contest with Conor's son, Cathal Carrach. The quarrels of these Cathals were the cause of great suffering to the people of Connaught during several years until the death of the latter.

In 1192 Taichleach O'Dowda, lord of the Hy Awley and Hy Fiachrach, was slain by his two grandsons.

Gilbert and Philip de Angulo fled from Meath and were outlawed in 1195. Gilbert joined Cathal Crobhderg in his invasion of Munster in 1195, and seems to have remained permanently in his service, having a large assignment of land in South Connaught.

Cathal invaded Munster without provocation, perhaps in pursuit of Cathal MacDermot of Moylurg, whom he had driven out of Connaught. He went as far as Emly and Cashel, destroying castles

and towns. He returned with a large force to Athlone, where he made peace with John de Courcy and de Lacy. Cathal MacDermot "came again in the same year, through the strength of his hands, into Connacht, until he reached Caislen na Caillighe; and he killed many persons on his way from the south as far as that" (L.C.). "On arriving at Lough Mask and Inishrobe, he seized upon all the vessels of Cathal Crovderg O'Conor, and brought them away to Caislen na Caillighe, where he proceeded to commit great ravages in all directions, until Cathal Crovderg, accompanied by a party of the English and of the Sil Maelruana, arrived and made peace with him, although he had hitherto committed great ravages" (F.M.). Castle Hag must have been surrendered to him by the guard, or possibly he surprised them. Such an impregnable stronghold most likely secured him easy terms of peace. This is the first reference to Castle Hag in the Annals. It is not mentioned again until Sir R. Bingham ruined it. It is remarkable that the Annals should ignore the building of such a fortress, a great cahir with mortared walls of great height.

In 1196 Cathal Crovderg drove Ruaidhri O'Flaherty out of his kingdom. O'Flaherty took to the sea, and plundered Conmaicne and Umhall, but afterwards went to Ulster and made peace with O'Conor by the mediation of the Comarb of Patrick, the Archbishop of Armagh. Yet O'Conor seized O'Flaherty next year. Such relations between the powerful O'Flaherty clan and O'Conor facilitated an agreement between de Burgos and O'Flaherties in later wars.

In 1199 Cathal Crovderg made an unprovoked attack on the English, at Athlone probably, killed many persons, and carried off cattle. Thus he came into collision with the English forces, whereby his position as King of Connaught was eventually much reduced. The history of these wars, ending in what the Irish justly called the Conquest of Connaught, shows the ruinous and inconclusive character of native Irish warfare. The main object was to plunder and destroy the country, not to follow up and annihilate the enemy's forces or to overawe him by occupation of his country.

The Annals differ somewhat as to the years in which events fell, but agree generally as to events. The Annals of Clonmacnoise seem to give the best arrangement on the whole, and are here followed as to date and sequence.

In 1200 Cathal Crovderg invaded Munster and burnt William de Burgo's castles. After a raid into West Meath, where he suffered loss, he collected his forces and went into Aidhne, as if to meet the English from Munster, but began to plunder Cathal Carrach's territory. C. Carrach inflicted a severe defeat on a detachment sent against him. C. Crovderg seems to have retired without fighting before the English forces under William Burk and Murtough and

Conor O'Brien, who made C. Carrach king. To him hostages were given by the chiefs of the Silmurray and the Tuaths and by MacDermot, O'Gara, O'Hara, and O'Dowda. C. Crobhderg went into Ulster.

"However, Cathal Carrach and William Burk, and the two O'Briains, with their Foreigners and Gaeidhel, left neither church nor territory from Echtghe to Dun-Rossarach, and from the Sinuinn westwards to the sea, that they did not pillage and destroy, so that neither church, nor altar, nor priest, nor monk, nor canon, nor abbot, nor bishop afforded protection against this demoniacal host; and they used to strip the priests in the churches, and carry off the women, and every kind of property and stock found in the churches, without regard to saint or sanctuary, or to any power on earth; so that never before was there inflicted on the Connachtmen any punishment of famine, nakedness, and plundering like this punishment." (L.C.)

This plundering must have been before the general submission. We must understand that Cathal Crovderg adopted the course usually taken by an Irish king in face of superior force. He retired before them with his adherents, and looked on while his and their country was being pillaged. His chief adherents got tired of this and submitted to the conquerors, and he fled to come again if he could. We need not suppose that this war was any worse than the other wars which the country was well used to. But it may have been more thorough. The invaders were largely well-armed, organised soldiers, able to beat down opposition, irresistible by a purely Irish army, but slow. Their O'Conor and O'Brien allies were used to the work of plundering and destruction, and could do it well under cover of the main body.

The pillage and destruction of churches I believe to mean no more than that the surrounding houses or villages were destroyed and pillaged, not that the fabric of the church was purposely destroyed. Destruction of churches was not a Norman or English custom. There was reason for plundering and burning churches if by the term we understand the subsidiary buildings belonging to the clergy and the villagers which grew up about the churches. Under 1236 (L.C.) we find that corn was stored in the religs or churchyards, and kept in baskets in the churches, and the practice is mentioned in the above extract. Thus burning Kilmaine and Kilbennan may mean burning the church itself, which is the exact meaning of the expression. But we know that burning a line of churches would make no difference to an invader. Burning the houses of the villages of that name and all the supplies with them would be an effective act of defensive warfare. It needs only the sight of the cashel of Moyne church, near Headford, to make clear the importance of the churches in the warfare of those days. It was a custom in Ireland to put corn and heavy property in charge

of the clergy when the owners betook themselves to fastnesses with their cattle, in the hope that the invaders would respect the clergy, as they evidently often did in ordinary Irish cattle raids. The Normans made war in a more serious and thorough fashion, and had no idea of leaving the enemy's supplies for his use as soon as they left the place. At an early period an arrangement was made with the clergy that, if property left with them for safe keeping was taken from the churches, the fees due for keeping it should be paid by him who took it.

In 1201 Cathal Crovderg came twice from Ulster, and twice suffered defeat. In this fighting Taichleach O'Dowda was killed. After the second defeat Cathal Crovderg procured the support of William de Burgo and his Munster allies. These transactions are obscure. Meiler FitzHenry, the justiciary, and William de Burgo supported Cathal Carrach against O'Neill and O'Hegny. Cathal Carrach defeated Cathal Crovderg when he came a second time with de Courcy and de Lacy. The king arrested de Courcy and called him to account for his action, but the result does not appear. It is certain that William de Burgo now suddenly took up Cathal Crovderg's cause against Cathal Carrach, and he seems to have done so with the king's consent, as he was called to account by the king only when he attacked C. Crovderg in 1203. It is most probable that this change was the result of an attack on the English by C. Carrach, as the only means of securing the favour and toleration of the Connaught chieftains. It is evident that he had hitherto relied on English arms for his position, that Cathal Crovderg had a very strong party in Connaught; having been king for ten years, and being a son of Torlogh Mor, were points in his favour. Other Connaught kings set up by the English took the same course, notably Felim O'Conor in 1316.

However this may be, Cathal Crovderg came again early in 1202 with W. Burk, Murtough and Conor O'Brien, and Finghin MacCarthy. They went at once to Boyle and occupied the monastery, which they began to fortify with a stone wall.

On the third day Cathal Carrach was killed in a skirmish with a party sent out to plunder MacDermot's lands, who therefore must have been his supporter. Tomaltach, son of Taichleach O'Dowda, was killed, and several other men of rank at the same time. This ended the war. The O'Briens and Finghin MacCarthy went home. Cathal and William de Burgo made a tour to the south by Dunlo and Moenmoy and then by West Connaught, *i.e.* along the country of O'Flaherty east of the Lough as far as Cong, where they stayed to spend Easter.

"The resolution that Cathal Crobhderg and William Burk adopted,

moreover, was to despatch their mercenaries throughout Connacht, to levy their wages; and William Burk, together with all who were with him, and Cathal Crobhderg, went to Cunga-Feichin. After this a miraculous event happened, and it is not known whether it occurred through a man or through the spirit of God in the shape of a man—viz. it was reported that William Burk had been killed; and there was not a road in Connacht by which this report did not come. The resolution adopted by the tribes on hearing this news was as if they had taken counsel together—viz. each man to kill his guest. And thus it was done—viz. each tribe killed all that came to them; and the loss, according to the report of their own people, was nine hundred, *vel amplius.* When William Burk heard that his people had been slain, he plotted against O'Conchobhair; but timely notice reached O'Conchobhair, and he left the place where William was; and William went to Mumha, after losing the majority of his people." (L.C., 1202.)

Torlogh, son of King Ruaidhri, was seized by his own brother Diarmaid, and by Diarmaid, son of Ruaidhri, son of his uncle Maghnus, and by O'Dowda and O'Hara, on behalf of Cathal Crovderg. This arrest must be a consequence of the breach between Cathal and William Burk. Torlogh was a man who might be set up as a rival king.

The slaughter of his men must have been the cause of William's turning against Cathal. The proceedings of these years justly earned for William his Irish title of William Conquer.

William Burk began the campaign of 1203 by plundering Clonfert about the 1st February in company with Conor Moenmoy's sons. Thence they moved to Meelick and made a fortification round the church, in which a garrison was left. He then marched northwards by Knockmoy, plundering all places until he reached Mayo, where he killed the two sons of Aedh Dall O'Conor, and settled for a time at Cong. Of this time it is said: "Tuaim-dha-ghualann was emptied, and Cunga Feichin was rased, *so that it was* without a house or church, and the churches of nearly all Connaught were emptied" (L.C.).

King Cathal was evidently powerless to resist. But Meiler Fitz-Henry, the justiciary, and Walter de Lacy brought an army into Munster against William, who returned to the south and submitted himself to the king's orders, giving up all his castles to the justiciary. In July 1203 the king ordered William to answer all complaints brought against him by the justiciary. In October William had appeared before the king. In March 1204 commissioners were appointed to inquire into the complaints made by the justiciary and others against William, and by William against the

justiciary. He took William into Normandy with him, and ordered restoration to William of all his castles and lands, save those in Connaught. In September an order is made retaining the land of Connaught in the king's hand on account of these disputes, which are not further mentioned in the record. He seems to have justified his actions before the king, as he returned to Ireland in 1204, and died in 1205. But this was probably in January, February, or March of 1205 according to the official year, 1206 according to the usual computation of the year from the 1st January. He closed a chapter in the history of Connaught and of Ireland, by putting an end to the independence of the kings of Connaught.

It is not known when this great man came to Ireland, but it must have been not later than 1190. He married a daughter of Donnell Mor O'Brien, King of Thomond, and of Munster until the Invasion, by whom he left three sons. He had large grants in the counties of Limerick and Tipperary, and seems to have settled down on his lands and kept out of the wars until Cathal Crovderg's attack forced him to take up arms for his own defence. Though his lands were within the kingdom of Thomond, they had not been directly occupied by the O'Briens, and it was therefore easy for him to cultivate friendly relations with that family, which were maintained by his descendants. This alliance was an important factor in the conquest of Connaught by giving him and his son Richard the help of the O'Briens. Another daughter of O'Brien named Mor was married to Cathal Crovderg, and another to Donnell Mor O'Kelly.

He certainly had a grant of some parts of Connaught, but I cannot ascertain what it was, except that the grant related to parts of the counties of Mayo and Galway, in which he gave grants to two Petits and others. But none of these grants were effective.

The writer of the Annals of Clonmacnoise was very abusive of him, but the translator suppressed most of the abuse. As far as the Irish Annals deal with his actions, they show only what would have made him "the Glory of the Gael" if he had been an Irish provincial king.

He was buried in the Abbey of Athassel, now better known as Golden Abbey, near Cashel, which he had founded. A tombstone effigy, supposed to be from his tomb, is set up in a chapel of the old church of Ballynakill, near Glinsk, but it is probably that of a later William Burke.[1]

During the remainder of the reign of Cathal Crovderg the country enjoyed an unusual amount of peace, and therefore the annalists tell but little. At this time the power of the O'Conors was very much based on the country from Tirawley southwards to Tuam,

[1] *Journal of Galway Arch. and Hist. Society*, ii. p. 107.

in which Murtough Mweenagh and his family, the son of Maghnus, the sons of Ruaidhri, and some other descendants of Torlogh Mor, were settled. But the mainstay of the family was still the great Silmurray tribe. They themselves were always quarrelling over the sovereignty. In these new settlements they were by their presence putting the old local chiefs a step lower in rank, and so making it easier for the new Anglo-Norman lords to take the place of the O'Conors later on. For the first effect of Anglo-Norman settlement was to relieve the people from incessant plundering by strangers, and to enable those minor lords who accepted the new conditions to enjoy their own in peace, free from irregular exactions.

In 1207 Aedh O'Goirmghiallaigh, lord of Partry, was slain by the men of Carra.

In 1208 Donnsleibhe O'Gara, King of Sliabh Lugha, Murtough Mweenagh, who was now Tanist of Connaught, and others helped King Cathal to remove Cathal O'Mulrony from the chieftainship of Moylurg, and to set up the son of Tomaltach MacDermot.

Auliffe O'Rothlain, chief of the Calry of Coolcarney, was slain by O'Moran, who lived at Ardnarea, whose land extended thence to Toomore.

In 1210 King Cathal broke with King John. The consequence was that the justiciary built a bridge and a castle at Athlone, and an invasion of Connaught by Geoffrey de Marisco and an army from Munster, accompanied by Aedh, son of Ruaidhri O'Conor, and O'Flaherty's son, and Donough Cairbreach O'Brien. They came by Tuam to Lough Narney, where they halted for fourteen to twenty days. Cathal Crovderg did not fight, but came to terms and went with them to Athlone, where he made peace with the justiciary by giving as hostages his son Torlogh and the son of another noble. The four hostages which were in the king's hands were then released, one being Conor O'Hara.

1213. "Donnchadh O'Dubhda *sailed* with a fleet of fifty-six ships from the Insi Gall, and landed on Inis Raithin, one of the Insi Modh, in Umhall, and wrested his own land free of tribute from Cathal Croibhdhearg O'Conor" (H.F., p. 303). This must mean that, owing to the reduced power of the O'Conors, O'Dowda freed himself from the heavy tribute due according to the O'Mulconry tract.

1217. Cathal Finn O'Lachtna, chief of the Two Bacs, was treacherously slain in his house by O'Flynn of Moyheleog.

1220. "Dubhdara, son of Muiredhach O'Maille, was killed in a dispute by Cathal Crobhderg, in his own camp, in violation of all Connacht; and this was a grievous act, although it was his own misdeeds that recoiled on him" (L.C.).

The next event shows that a conspiracy was formed against King Cathal, brought on possibly by his having associated his son Aedh with him in the sovereignty, and by the king's having recognised Aedh's right of succession, which is apparent from the State Papers and the Annals. Though the fact appears later, we may suppose that Cathal's intentions became apparent earlier. This succession was in derogation of the right of the O'Conors to choose a qualified heir among themselves; and it was necessary to act as Cathal was old. I cannot ascertain who the Mulrony O'Dowda is.

1221. "Diarmaid, son of Ruaidhri, son of Toirdhelbhach Mor O'Conchobhair, was slain by Thomas MacUchtraigh as he was coming from Insi-Gall, whilst collecting a fleet for the purpose of acquiring the sovereignty of Connacht; . . . Maelruanaidh O'Dubhda, King of Ui-Amhalghaidh, was drowned while assembling the same fleet.

"Diarmaid O'Culechain, a professor of history and writing, died in this year, *i.e.* a man who had more writings and knowledge than any one that came in his own time; and it was he that wrote the Massbook of Cnoc, and another Massbook the equal of it for Diarmaid MacOirechtaigh, his tutor, and for Gillapatraic, his foster-brother—the comarbs of Achadh-Fabhair in succession." (L.C.)

1224. "Maelisu, son of the bishop O'Maelfhaghmhair, parson of Ui Fiachrach and Ui-Amhalghaidh, and materies of a bishop, was killed by the son of Donnchadh O'Dubhda, after enjoying his food and his fire in his own [O'Dubhda's] house" (L.C.). "A deed strange in him, for none of the O'Dowdas had ever before killed an ecclesiastic." (F.M.)

"Cathal Crobhderg O'Conchobhair, King of Connacht, and king of the Gaeidhel of Erinn according to merit, died in the monastery of Cnoc-Muaidhe on the 5th of the kalends of June; the best Gaeidhel for nobility and honour that came from *the time of* Brian Borumha down; the battle-prosperous, puissant upholder of the people; the rich, excellent maintainer of peace; (for it was in his time that tithes were first received in the land of Erinn); the meek, devout pillar of faith and Christianity; corrector of the culprits and transgressors; the destroyer of robbers and evil-doers; the general battle-victorious defender of the royal law, to whom God gave good honour on earth, and the heavenly kingdom beyond, after dying in the habit of a monk, after triumphing over the world and the devil. Aedh O'Conchobhair, his own son, assumed the government of Connacht, with his luck and happiness, after him; for he was a king in dignity near his father previously, and the hostages of Connacht were at his command; and it was God who granted the sovereignty to him thus, for no crime was committed in Connacht

through the speedy assumption of sovereignty by him, but one act of plunder on the road to Cruach, and his hands and feet were cut off the person who committed it; and one woman was violated by the son of O'Mannachain, who was blinded for his offence." (L.C.)

This panegyric may advantageously be compared with the known facts of his career. It is evident that the record omits very much which would prove the truth of the panegyric.

He founded the Abbey of Ballintubber, begun about 1216. It is not improbable that it was built in reparation for an attack upon the Archbishop of Tuam, recorded in the following discreet words which neither affirm nor deny his complicity: "The Archbishop O'Ruanadha was cruelly and violently taken prisoner by the Connachtmen and Maelisa O'Conchobhair, and put in chains; a thing we never heard of before, viz., an archbishop being manacled" (L.C.). I find no Maelisa among the O'Conors, except the Prior of Inishmaine who died in 1223, nor any incident to account for the affair.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM ACCESSION OF AEDH TO THE SUBMISSION OF FELIM IN 1237.

AEDH'S accession soon led to war. The part which Aedh had taken in 1224 against Aedh O'Neill and the de Lacys would dispose O'Neill to join Aedh's opponents, though O'Neill was careful to avoid collision with the English. The events are recorded thus:—

1225. "A commotion of war was raised in this year by Toirdhelbhach, son of Ruaidhri, king [of Connacht], and by Aedh O'Neill, to contest the province of Connacht with Aedh, son of Cathal Crobhderg, through the solicitation of Donn Og Mac Oirechtaigh, king-chieftain of Sil-Muiredhaigh, in retaliation for having been deprived of land and patrimony; and when he rebelled the Connachtmen rebelled, viz. the Sil-Muiredhaigh, and *the men of* the West of Connacht, with Aedh O'Flaithbhertaigh, king of the West of Connacht. However, Aedh O'Neill came with them to the middle of Sil-Muiredhaigh; and they made Toirdhelbhach, son of Ruaidhri, king; and Aedh O'Neill went home, because the sons of Ruaidhri preferred their own assemblies, which had been summoned by them respectively, with the exception of Cormac, son of Tomaltach MacDiarmada of the Rock, and David O'Floinn, and other men of trust." (L.C.) An entry regarding this event erroneously put in the preceding year says that Aedh O'Neill went home after inaugurating Torlogh, because an army of Foreigners was coming to support Aedh's cause.

"As regards Aedh, son of Cathal Crobhderg, moreover; he repaired to the Foreigners, and it happened fortunately for him, as the Foreigners of Erinn were then at Ath-Luain, holding a court, and every one of them was a friend of his, for his father's sake and his own; for he and his father before him were very liberal of wages to them. He brought with him the Justiciary, and as many of the Foreigners of Erinn as he thought sufficient; and Donchadh Cairbrech O'Briain, with his army, and O'Maelechlainn, with his army, went also with him. The people of Magh-hAei and the Tuatha fled then into Luighne and Tir-Amhalghaidh, with their cows; and the sons of Ruaidhri were left without an army, without a tribe assem-

blage, there being in their company only a few royal heirs, and chieftains, and horseboys, and attendants. The sons of Ruaidhri proceeded to Cill-Cellaigh,[1] accompanied only by a small band and a few royal heirs, to protect their cows and people. Aedh, son of Cathal Crobhderg, with his Foreigners, advanced towards Toirdhelbhach, son of Ruaidhri, where he was with his chieftains, and there were hardly any others than horseboys and a rabble along with him, for Aedh, son of Ruaidhri, and the son of Muirchertach, and Domhnall O'Flaithbhertaigh, and Tighernan, son of Cathal, and the sons of Toirdhelbhach, son of Ruaidhri, went to protect the cows and people of Ferghal O'Taidhg, who had pledged a mutual oath with them. And it so happened that he was the first Connachtman who violated his mutual oath with the sons of Ruaidhri; and he brought the son of Cathal, with his Foreigners, to protect his cows and people, in opposition to them. It was then that the Foreigners encountered Toirdhelbhach, son of Ruaidhri. He and his chieftains arose, and they placed their rabble before them, and retreated excellently without any of their men being slain; for Donn Og Mac Airechtaigh, and Flaithbhertach O'Flannagain, and a small number of the Eoghanach[2] band, followed them. In that day a scouting party encountered Echmarcach Mac Branain, who was with a small force in the middle of an oak wood, amongst his pigs and his cows; and he performed great valour when they were killing him, but a superior number of brave men overtook him. Then Aedh, son of Cathal Crobhderg, with his Foreigners, followed the sons of Ruaidhri that night to Milic; and he remained there three nights, plundering Luighne on every side. This thing was unfortunate for O'hEghra, who had to make peace, after being plundered, for the sake of the little that had been left in Luighne. The sons of Ruaidhri were at this time in front of Loch-mic-Oiredhaigh[3] in Glenn-na-Mochart.[4] The resolution adopted by the son of Cathal Crobhderg was to go along with the Foreigners after the cows of the Tuatha, and of Sil-Muiredhaigh, and of Clann-Tomaltaigh, by a route that no Foreigner ever took before, viz. into Fidh-Gadhlaigh, until they reached Ath-tighe-in-Mesaigh;[5] and they received neither arrow nor dart in that route. They plundered Cul-Cernadha, and inflicted vengeance on cows and people there. Of all those that went into the Bac, all who were not drowned were plundered and killed. Pity alas! every one who went towards Dubh-Cunga[6] was drowned; and so the fishing weirs were found with their baskets full of children, after being drowned in them. Of all the droves of Clann-Tomaltaigh that had escaped from the Foreigners,

[1] Kilkelly.
[2] Probably some of O'Neill's men.
[3] Lough Talt.
[4] Glanna Voagh.
[5] Attymas.
[6] Probably the weir below Ballycong Lake.

and that had not been drowned, a number went into Tir-Amhalghaidh; and O'Dubhda attacked them, and left not a single cow with them.

"As regards the sons of Ruaidhri, moreover; the resolution they adopted at Loch-mic-Airedhaigh [1] was, to disperse until his Foreigners should separate from the son of Cathal Crobhderg, viz. the two sons of Ruaidhri—Toirdhelbhach and Aedh—and the son of Maghnus, and Donn Og, were to go to meet O'Flaithbhertaigh, their mutual ally; and the sons of Muirchertach O'Conchobhair, and Tighernan, son of Cathal,[2] to go to protect their cows and people, and to make peace for their sake, until his Foreigners should depart from the son of Cathal Crobhderg.

"As regards the southern half of Connacht, also, it was not more quiet, for the Foreigners of Laighen, and Donnchadh (or Muirchertach) O'Briain, came against them. The Foreigners of Des-Mumha and the sheriff of Corcach came also against them. They plundered and killed every one whom they caught. Aedh, son of Cathal Crobhderg, disliked their coming into the district, for it was not he who invited them; but when they heard of all the spoils the Justiciary with his Foreigners had obtained, envy and jealousy seized them. Grievous, indeed, was the misfortune God permitted to *fall on* the best province in Erinn, east or west, south or north; for the young man would not spare his companion, in preying or in plundering, provided that he was the stronger. Women and children, and young lords, and the mighty and the weak, were exposed to cold and famine through this war. As to Aedh, son of Cathal Crobhderg, however; he advanced to Magh-nEo, and the sons of Muirchertach went into his house, under conditions and guarantees, for the sake of their cows and people. He went on the morrow to Cill-Medhoin, and the three armies of Foreigners met there; and the entire cantred was nearly filled with these three armies of Foreigners and Gaeidhel. It was then that Aedh O'Flaithbhertaigh came, on the covenants and guarantees of the nobles of the Foreigners, and of Donnchadh Cairbrech O'Briain, his gossip, into the house of the son of Cathal Crobhderg and the Justiciary, made peace with him for the sake of his cows and people, and engaged to banish the sons of Ruaidhri from him. The son of Cathal Crobhderg went with his Foreigners to Tuaim-da-ghualann, and permitted the Foreigners of Laighen and Des-Mumha to depart from him; and it was his own duty to escort the Justiciary across Ath-Luain. He adopted another resolution then, viz. to turn back towards O'Flaithbhertaigh; for he liked not the way in which he left him, as the sons of Ruaidhri were at the west side of the lake with him, and his own son-in-law, *i.e.* Donn Og, along with them. Then the sons of Maghnus separated

[1] Lough Talt. [2] Cathal Migaran, son of Torlogh Mor O'Conor.

from the sons of Ruaidhri, and went into Tir-Amhalghaidh in quest of their cows and people, and found them there, happily, without being plundered or molested; and they carried them with them under the protection of O'Ruairc;[1] and they committed a great depredation on Philip Mac Goisdelbh. Donnchadh Cairbrech, moreover, sent the nobles of his people, and his men of trust, on before him with great spoils. Aedh, son of Ruaidhri, and Eoghan O'hEidhin intercepted them with a small band; and the Momonians awaited not the attack of the son of the chief king; but he went after them and captured the men of trust of Donnchadh Cairbrech; and heavy were the spoils left with Aedh, son of Ruaidhri. Then Donnchadh Cairbrech went home, and made peace and 'drowning of candles' with Aedh, son of Ruaidhri; and he promised that he would not again go against the son of Ruaidhri, in return for the release of his men of trust; but he kept not this, for he came immediately on the next hosting against the son of Ruaidhri. It was then, moreover, that the son of Cathal Crobhderg and the Justiciary came to the port of Iniscremha,[2] after the Foreigners of Laighen and Mumha had departed; and O'Flaithbhertaigh was obliged to give Iniscremha, and Oilen-na-circe,[3] and also the boats of the lake, for the sake of his cows and people. Aedh, son of Cathal Crobhderg, went again to Tuaim-da-ghualann, and proceeded on to escort the Justiciary; and a few of the chiefs of the Foreigners, and many mercenaries, were left with him, for he liked not the Connaught-men, with the exception of a few of them. He then delivered the nobles of the community into the hands of the Foreigners, as a pledge for wages, viz. Flaithbhertach O'Flannagain, and Ferghal O'Taidhg and many more of the Connachtmen, who were obliged to release themselves. It was then that O'Flaithbhertaigh and the sons of Muirchertach, and the other royal heirs, went again to the son of Ruaidhri, after the Foreigners had departed from Aedh, son of Cathal Crobhderg; and Aedh despatched messengers and writings to the Foreigners, announcing the revolt, and requesting additional forces. He was cheerfully responded to; for these expeditions were profitable to the Foreigners, who used to obtain spoils, and used not to encounter danger or conflict. The Foreigners of Laighen and Des-Mumha were furnished to him on this occasion in great force, under William Cras and the sons of Griffin; and when they came towards the son of Cathal Crobhderg, he came from the east across Tochar,[4] and proceeded on southwards to where he heard the sons of Ruaidhri were (viz. in Ui Diarmada), without an army, without allies having arrived

[1] The Clann Maghnus thus left Mayo and settled in Kilronan, alias Tir Tuathail.
[2] Illauncarbry, near Cargin Castle. [3] Now called Castlekirke.
[4] Near Templetogher in barony of Ballymoe.

to them. Then Aedh, son of Cathal Crobhderg, sent his brother Felim and the chiefs of his people, with Foreign mercenaries, to plunder Eoghan O'hEidhin in Ui-Fiachrach-Aidhne; and they were in a house-camp at Ard-rathain, with a view to committing the depredation early on the morrow. O'Flaithbhertaigh and the sons of Muirchertach, as they were marching to the sons of Ruaidhri, heard of the Foreigners having gone on a plundering expedition to Eoghan O'hEidhin, and of their being at Ard-rathain. The resolution they adopted was to march towards Ard-rathain, and to attack the Foreigners early next morning, and to burn the town against them. They marched until morning, and were early on the green of the town, when they determined to send first to the town Tuathal, son of Muirchertach, and their Foreigners, and whomsoever of the Gaeidhel would desire to go with him—O'Flaithbhertaigh and the *other* sons of Muirchertach remaining outside the town. Bravely, indeed, was the town then entered. The Gaeidhel who offered to go with Tuathal was Taichlech, son of Aedh O'Dubhda. And when they went boldly into the town the Foreigners fled eastwards and westwards out of the town; and the Foreigners were driven in rout eastwards. The Foreigners who fled westwards out of the town inflicted a defeat on those of the Gaeidhel who were in the rear of the town. There were no Gaeidhel more vigorous than the company on which this defeat westwards was inflicted, but God did not grant that good fortune should attend them. Tuathal and Taichlech O'Dubhda pursued the party that went eastwards; and Tuathal first wounded the constable of the Foreigners, who fell by Taichlech. It was very fortunate for the sons of Ruaidhri that they were not in this defeat. It was in this defeat westwards that Mathgamhain, son of Aedh, son of Conchobhar Maenmhaighe, and the son of Gillachrist Mac Diarmada, and the grandson of Amhlaibh Mac Airechtaigh, and Niall, son of Ferghal O'Taidhg, were slain; and the person who slew him was killed, viz. the brother of Culen O'Dimusaigh.

"As regards the sons of Ruaidhri: they met on the morrow with O'Flaithbhertaigh, and with the sons of Muirchertach, and with Tighernan, son of Conchobhar, and with Donn Og; and they proceeded from the south to Druim-Cenannain. It was then Aedh, son of Cathal Crobhderg, with his Foreigners, went in pursuit of them. The resolution they adopted was—each of them to go towards his cows and his people, and to abandon the sons of Ruaidhri. The sons of Ruaidhri went out of the district, as they had no forces or Foreigners in readiness, and Donn went again under the protection of Aedh O'Neill; and there resulted nothing to them from this hosting but that the best territory in Erinn was injured and destroyed through them. Regarding Aedh, son of Cathal Crobhderg, however; he

went to O'Flaithbhertaigh, and brought pledges and hostages from him on this occasion. He proceeded downwards to Cill-Medhoin, and to Magh-Eo, in pursuit of the sons of Muirchertach, and of Tighernan; and they made peace for the sake of their cows and people, and went into the house of Aedh, son of Cathal Crobhderg, under the guarantee of Donnchadh Cairbrech and the chiefs of the Foreigners. This was a necessary tranquillity, for there was not a church or territory in Connacht on that day without being destroyed.

"After plunderings, and after killing the cows and people of the country and exposing every one to cold and famine, a great plague prevailed in the whole district, viz. a species of fever, by which the towns used to be emptied, without a living man being left in them." (L.C.)

The following entries are under the year 1226, and seem to relate to the period when Aedh was left to maintain his own authority:—

"Tighernan, son of Conchobhar, son of Cathal Migaran O'Conchobhair, the royal heir of greatest honour and bravery that came of the sons of Conchobhar, and who performed the most renowned, successful exploits, was killed by Donnchadh O'Dubhda and his sons.

"Ferghal O'Taidhg, dux of the household of Cathal Crobhderg, and of that of his son after him—a man of great prosperity, and by whom his enemies fell in greatest numbers—was slain by Donnsleibhe O'Gadhra." (L.C.)

Under the year 1225 Tighernan, son of Cathal O'Conchobhair, is noted as killed by Donnchadh O'Dubhda. The family of Cathal Migaran seems to have been settled in Mayo. It is, I think, possible that these entries relate to the same man, the son of Cathal Migaran.

Aedh and Torlogh had such equal support in Connaught that outside help on either side turned the scale. Aedh's foreign allies were the English, against whom Torlogh's supporters would not fight. Hence the futility of these rebellions by men who would neither fight nor submit honestly. Clan Murtough had a small body of foreigners in their service.

Aedh was now established, but events took an unfortunate turn for him. It is most probable that the Connaughtmen were much pleased by a prospect of attacking the king's forces on behalf of William Marshall, and would not let Aedh submit as William did. The English record tells us that a meeting with Aedh was arranged at Athlone, which must have been in September 1226, or in August. The Annals record what occurred.

The meeting-place was by the side of a marsh, a Lahagh a little to the west of Athlone. Aedh crossed the marsh with Cormac MacDermot, Dermot, son of Manus O'Conor, Manus, son of Murtough O'Conor, Tadhg O'Ceirin, and Ruaidhri O'Maelbhrenainn. William

de Marisco, a son of the justiciary, came with eight horsemen. Before they dismounted Aedh advanced and seized William de Marisco. Aedh took William, Master Sleimhne, and Hugo Arden prisoners, and killed the constable of Athlone. Aedh and his forces then plundered the market and burnt the town. "And this was a felicitous act for all the Connachtmen, for they obtained their sons and daughters, and the hostages of Connacht, and peace for the Connachtmen afterwards" (L.C.). His prisoners must have been exchanged for the hostages, as he did not take the castle. The peace they got by this act was not worth much, and the expression may mean only that they went away without pursuit or immediate invasion.

"Donnsleibhe O'Gadhra, King of Sliabh-Lugha, was killed by the Gillaruadh, his own brother's son and he was killed therefor through the device of the son of Cathal Crobhderg" (L.C.).

The Annals of Clonmacnoise date the Athlone affair correctly in 1226, but those of Loch Cé place it under the year 1227. The justiciary did not deal with Connaught until the following year, 1227, when Connaught was invaded in force. King Aedh fled to Tirconnell. Geoffrey de Marisco, accompanied by Torlogh, son of Ruaidhri, came by Athlone into Magh Ai, where he took the hostages of the Silmurray, and, accompanied by Brian, son of Ruaidhri, advanced to Sligo, and sent a detachment of Meath forces, accompanied by Torlogh, against O'Flaherty, which afterwards went into Carra and took hostages from Clan Murtough, and a number of cows from each cantred. The southern army under Richard de Burgo, accompanied by Aedh, son of Ruaidhri, marched to Inishmaine, plundering and taking hostages. Thus all Connaught was brought to submission without fighting. Geoffrey de Marisco left the country in some way in charge of the sons of Ruaidhri. This to be inferred. Nothing is stated precisely.

After his departure King Aedh came back. As he came to the river Boyle he was surprised by Ruaidhri's sons, who took his wife prisoner, whom they handed over to the English at Athlone. Aedh and his two sons and his brother Felim escaped. No more fighting or dissension is recorded at this time. The sons of Ruaidhri and Clann Murtough and the other O'Conors of the Co. Mayo seem to have had a superiority in Connaught when left alone. The English armies had secured that point. Their object seems to have been to reduce Aedh to obedience, and this object was now effected. In some way or other Aedh came to terms. He is next heard of as visiting the justiciary in the castle of Athlone, where an Englishman murdered him in a fit of jealousy in the year 1228.

Aedh, son of Cathal, may have come to terms by accepting the

King's Five Cantreds with the title of King of Connaught. The sons of Ruaidhri and the other O'Conor allies who were settled in Mayo, and all the other lords of Connaught, would be freed from his supremacy, holding from the King of England. Aedh was not in a position to hold out for better terms when he returned in 1227, and such an arrangement would make for peace in Connaught, which seems to have ensued for a time.

However this may be, Aedh was recognised as King of Connaught, and was killed in 1228. At this period occurred the real and effective partition of Connaught by the grant of two thirds to Richard de Burgo. At the same time Aedh, son of Ruaidhri, was made king over the Five Cantreds. This appears also from the entry of 1230 (L.C.) that Aedh and the other Connaughtmen turned against Richard de Burgo and the foreigners.

In this year, therefore, must be dated with certainty the separation of the territories of the county of Mayo from the ancient kingdom of Connaught. The grant is dated the 21st May 1228.

Aedh was set up in preference to his elder brother Torlogh. The preference may have been due to a desire to break the continuity of the old kingdom of Connaught, to show that Aedh had no title or right but what was derived from the grant of the King of England. Torlogh had been inaugurated in 1225, and might have represented himself, and have been regarded by the Irish, as king by virtue of that inauguration. Hence internal war first, necessity for fresh English intervention, and his own rebellion afterwards.

"A great war broke out in Connaught between the two sons of Roderic O'Conor, Hugh and Turlough, . . . for the younger son did not yield obedience to the elder; and they destroyed Connaught between them, and desolated the region *extending from* Easdara southwards to the river of Hy Fiachrach,[1] excepting only a small portion of Sliabh Lugha, and the territory of the people of Airtech." (F.M.)

In 1229 Felim, son of Cathal Crobhderg, defeated King Aedh and plundered Randown. Richard de Burgo, who had been made justiciary in 1228, brought an army to Castlereagh and restored Aedh, who in the following year turned against his supporters.

Kings of Connaught were now put up and down in quick succession until 1237. The events are thus summarised. In 1230 Aedh turned on the English, who came in force and set up Felim. In 1231 Richard de Burgo arrested Felim at Meelick. In September 1232 the king ordered release of Felim on bail to answer the charges against him, and appointed Maurice FitzGerald to supersede Richard de Burgo as justiciary. Felim, being released, attacked and killed Aedh. Richard

[1] The Robe.

de Burgo recovered the king's favour by the assistance he gave in Richard Marshall's rebellion. In 1235 Richard and the justiciary drove Felim out, and again in 1236, setting up Brian, son of Torlogh. In 1237 Felim accepted the position, was given the King's Five Cantreds, and remained at peace. These events gave rise to much warfare in Mayo, because so many of the O'Conors had estates there. Richard de Burgo did not at first try to make settlements on a large scale. If the Irish lords had been content to accept his lordship and to pay such rents and tributes as they may have agreed to pay, he would have been content to leave them as they were. We may infer this from the Annals and State Papers taken together. One of the first settlers in Connaught outside of Meelick was Richard's younger brother William, who at this time occupied Corcamoe or some territory near Donamon, which was given to Adam Staunton in 1229 by the king.

The Annals are our authority for local events at this time.

In 1230 King Aedh, at the instigation of Donn Og Mageraghty and Cormac MacDermot, turned against Richard Burk and the foreigners. Aedh himself and the O'Flahertys plundered William Burk and Adam Duff, while Donn Og and Maghnus O'Conor's sons and the Silmurray plundered Tir Maine and Mac Goisdelbh's lands. The party under Aedh should be the Mayo men and their O'Flaherty allies.

1230. "The son of William, however, assembled the greater part of the Foreigners of Erinn, and many Gaeidhel, and came into Connacht, accompanied by Felim, son of Cathal Crobhderg, to give him the sovereignty of Connacht, and to expel Aedh, son of Ruaidhri, and every Connachtman who had turned against him. They proceeded at first to the castle of Bun-Gaillmhe, to Aedh O'Flaithbhertaigh. Then Aedh, son of Ruaidhri, went to assist O'Flaithbhertaigh; the Connachtmen accompanying him, under the sons of Muirchertach O'Conchobhair; and the Connachtmen were on the west side of Gaillimh, and the Foreigners on the east side; and great conflicts *occurred* between them every day. The Foreigners were in this wise, and they obtained neither peace, nor pledge, nor hostage from the Connachtmen. The resolution the Foreigners adopted was to go after the cows and the people that had fled to the hills and fastnesses of the country, and into the islands of the sea; and they went that night from the castle of Bun-Gaillmhe to Droiched-inghine-Goillin,[1] where it was morning with them. Then the son of William asked, 'Is there a passage between us and the lake, by which some of the Connachtmen could come down?' The guides answered him:

[1] Probably a bridge near Headford, perhaps at Moyne, as now.

'There is,' said they. He disposed a party of horse to the west towards Cunga, and towards Cill- (or Inis-) Medhoin. It happened then that a countless number of Connachtmen were coming from Cunga early on the morrow, having been unwisely, and unwarily, transported across *the lake*[1] the night before, in parties of two and three; and a few good men were slain together with the men of trust of Muirchertach, son of Maghnus O'Conchobhair; viz. Diarmaid O'hEidhnechan, and Lochlann Maclesain, and Tadhg, son of Gillachrist O'Maelbhrenainn. As regards the Foreigners: they went after this success to Magh-Eo of the Saxons. They proceeded on the morrow to Tobur-Patraic, where the canons and devout people of the place came to the son of William, and requested the son of William, for charity, not to remain with them that night. This request was granted to them; and the Foreigners proceeded down to Muine-Maicin. The Foreigners were loth, indeed, to go from Magh-Eo thither; but they had not obtained either hostages or pledges from Maghnus, son of Muirchertach Muimhnech. As they had not obtained hostages, they went on the morrow to Achadh-Fabhair, and encamped in the town, to the west of the church, viz. at Margenana, on the brink of Loch Críchan. Maghnus, son of Muirchertach, went into their house and gave them pledges. As to the Foreigners, moreover; they came again on the morrow to Muine-Maicin, and remained a night there. They proceeded the next day to Magh-Sine,[2] and from thence, by marches, through Luighne, to Ceis-Corann. They went from thence into the Corrsliabh, and the guides abandoned the usual path; and they crossed the entire mountain without being met. With reference to Aedh, son of Ruaidhri, and to Tomaltach of the Rock, son of Conchobhar Mac Diarmada, and Donn Og Mac Airechtaigh, and the Sil-Muiredhaigh, who were in the wood—the resolution they adopted was not to bestow attention or regard on the Foreigners, since their cows, and their people with them, had reached the fastnesses of Muinter-Eolais and of Sliabh-an-iarainn. Donn Og said that he would not observe this resolution. The course he decided on was to go to the west side of the Foreigners until he reached Finn-charn, accompanied by his own brother, and the young men of Sil-Muiredhaigh, and by his own Foreigners, and by the son of Domnall Bregach O'Maelsechlainn with his Foreigners, and by Brian, son of Toirdhelbhach; and Donn sent a fighting party to them, and a good conflict was being waged against the Foreigners, and he himself was stationed on the summit of the carn, and his hope in the conflict. Then the Foreigners sent a

[1] The crossing point must have been the narrow ferry at Knock. It is evident that R. B. knew that bodies of men were between him and the lake.
[2] About Turlough.

countless host of mercenaries and cavalry around the carn, and they (*Donn's party*) observed them not until they passed from the west around the carn; and Donn was left alone there, with the exception of a few of his kinsmen, and of Brian, son of Toirdhelbhach; and only for a short time were they allowed to remain thus in one spot. Donn Og, being then alone, was proclaimed and recognised; and many soldiers took aim, and five arrows were lodged in him; and one horseman came up with him afterwards; and though he (*Donn*) had no weapon but an axe, he did not allow the horseman to close with him; and the horseman would drive his lance into him occasionally. The other soldiers surrounded him from the east and west, and he fell by the superior power that overtook him there.

"Regarding Aedh, son of Ruaidhri, moreover; he was on the east side of the Foreigners, awaiting them; and he did not give them battle, and it was not with his consent that Donn had done so. And the rout extended eastwards towards him; and he knew not then that Donn had been slain; but Aedh escaped uninjured through the strength of his hand; and he turned upon one man of them who was taking aim at him, and cast the lance which was in his hand at him, so that the shaft went through him; and he was afterwards allowed to depart. However, as success attended the Foreigners, and as Donn Og was slain, the Foreigners sent out great predatory bands as far as Sliabh-an-iarainn, and subjected multitudes to cold and hunger on this occasion. And women and children were killed; and all that were not killed were stripped; and they carried off great, fruitful preys to the camp of the Foreigners. The Foreigners departed after this on the morrow, and left the sovereignty with Felim, son of Cathal Crobhderg; and Aedh, son of Ruaidhri, was banished to Aedh O'Neill." (L.C.)

This account recognises only one army of the English. Comparing it with the Annals of Boyle, Clonmacnoise, and Ulster, we gather that the invasion was made by two armies. The justiciary, R. de Burgh, and Donogh Cairbrech O'Brien came from the south and secured the submission of O'Flaherty and the Mayo O'Conors, who formed the western group of rebels. The army of Meath, under Hugh de Lacy, accompanied by William de Burgo and Felim O'Conor, dealt with the Roscommon group, consisting of the Silmurray and MacDermot's forces. The two armies met at the Callow of the Rock of Lough Key—that is, near Rockingham House—where they stayed a week and two nights. It is not clear where or when occurred the skirmish in which D. Mageraghty fell. If the Finncharn could be identified the site would be known. One account mentions that he was killed in the Curlews.

The movements of the western army are given with unusual clearness. The account of the actual fighting in the skirmish is a

rare instance of such detail. It shows that a man with an axe and a horseman with a lance were fairly evenly matched. Unfortunately, we are not told whether Donn Og was on horseback or on foot. We should expect a man of his rank to be mounted, but in this case he was surprised while watching the fight from a carn.

From mention of the foreigners of Donn Og and of Donnell O'Melaghlin, we may infer that it was not unusual for Irish chieftains to have a few in their service. But they were not enough to affect the character of the Irish forces or enable them to withstand an army, and were probably small bodyguards.

In 1231 King Felim met R. de Burgo at Meelick, where R. de Burgo made him prisoner—by the treachery of his own men, according to the Annals of Boyle. Aedh, son of Ruaidhri, was now set up in his place. In the following year King Henry ordered R. de Burgo to release Felim on bail to answer the charges against him. As Richard failed to release him, the king made Maurice FitzGerald justiciary in his place, and ordered him to take up the whole of Connaught and hold it if Richard still refused to surrender the castle of Meelick and the prisoners of Connaught. Felim was released, but the castle was not surrendered. The king even asked for Felim's help in taking the castle before Felim should come to England to see him, as Felim wished to do. This occurred in May 1233. The castle was never surrendered. The war of Richard Marshall occurred next year. Richard de Burgo stood by the king, and was restored to favour. Meanwhile, in 1232, Richard was strengthening himself. The Annals inform us that he built the castle of Galway, and that Adam Staunton began that of Donamon.

Donogh, son of Tomaltach MacDermot, is noted by the Four Masters to have died in Aicideacht, which is a name of the territory of Clann Cuain. He must have submitted and held the land under Richard, or one of the O'Conors, or have been only a visitor there.

Felim, being released, secured the adhesion of MacDermot and of the Three Tuaths, and destroyed the power of the sons of Ruaidhri by killing Aedh, two of his brothers, two of his nephews, and some Englishmen near Tibohine. He then turned on R. de Burgo. "The castles that had been erected through the power of the sons of Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair and the son of William Burk were demolished by Fedhlim, viz. the castle of Bun-Gaillmhé, and Caislen-na-circe and Caislen-na-Caillighe, and the castle of Dun-Imdhain" (L.C.). This Caislen-na-circe and this Caislen-na-Caillighe are the castles standing in L. Carra on Castle Island and Hag Island. The sons of Ruaidhri had their settlements in Carra. The ruins of the castle on Castle Island are of later date than this period. The same may probably be said of the little that remains on Hag

Island. The first castles were no doubt very rough. Felim had things all his own way in Connaught in the years 1233 and 1234, owing to Richard Burk's quarrel with the king and Richard Marshall's war.

Irish family life of the period is illustrated by the following entry for the year 1234. "Aedh O'hEghra, King of Luighne, was killed by Donnchadh, son of Duarcan O'hEghra—(a house was burned over him, and he was killed in the door of the house, after coming out of it)—in revenge for his having first killed his brother (*i.e.* Donnchadh's brother) and the five sons of his father's brother, and having blinded his other brother" (L.C.). The Annals of Boyle say that Donogh was Aedh's brother and succeeded him.

In 1235 the English were free to deal with Felim O'Conor, who had set himself up as king of the ancient kingdom of Connaught. His position must have seemed very secure to Donogh Cairbrech O'Brien, King of Thomond, who had accepted the position of a vassal of King Henry, and had hitherto acted loyally towards him, but now entered into alliance with Felim.

The justiciary had two objects in view in the campaign of 1235—to reduce Felim to subjection or to oust him, and to put R. de Burgo in possession of his Connaught lordship, which the king had taken up in 1233. The Irish lords in immediate possession of territories were generally ready to submit. The trouble was with the O'Conors.

Maurice FitzGerald, the justiciary, came in person, accompanied by R. de Burgo, Hugh de Lacy, Walter de Ridelesford, and John Cogan. They advanced by Athlone, and reached Boyle Abbey on Trinity Sunday. They sent detachments thence as far as Glenfarne in the Co. Leitrim, whom they met at Ardcarne on their return with the prey. They then adopted what the annalist calls an extraordinary resolution. They retraced their steps and went through Tirmaine and Maenmagh into Thomond, to punish Donogh O'Brien, who had plundered O'Heyne. Felim O'Conor followed them in accordance with his engagements with O'Brien. They had a good many skirmishes, and a battle in which the O'Briens and O'Conors were defeated. O'Brien submitted. The justiciary then moved against O'Flaherty, who submitted.

"As to Fedhlim, son of Cathal Crobhderg, however, the resolution he adopted was to take with him towards O'Domhnaill all the cows that he found in Conmaicne-Mara and in Conmaicne-na-Cúile, and those belonging to all who obeyed his counsel—and the son of Maghnus,[1] and Conchobhar Ruadh, son of Muirchertach Muimhnech—and to leave the country wasted for the Foreigners. After this, truly, the Foreigners came to Dun-Modhord,[2] and sent messengers to Magh-

[1] Mac Maghnus. [2] Doon Castle, near Westport.

nus, son of Muirchertach Muimhnech, to demand peace and hostages from him; and Maghnus gave them neither peace nor hostages. The Foreigners then sent great predatory bands from Dun-Mughdhord,[1] and the sons of Ruaidhri, with innumerable mercenaries; and these plundered Eccuill.[2] and brought great herds with them to Druimne, to meet the Foreigners. As regards Aedh O'Flaithbhertaigh and Eoghan O'hEidhin, however, they went round with a large army, and with boats which had been brought to Linan-Chinnmhara.[3] The boats came with their forces, the Justiciary having gone to meet them to Druimne, to the callow of Inis-aenaigh.[4] Maghnus was at this time, with his vessels, in the sound of the island; and great contests and conflicts were waged by them in turn. The Foreigners were at this time fatigued, and the resolution they adopted was to occupy a camp, and to withdraw their boats to a corner of the large strand which was there. When Maghnus perceived this thing he proceeded from the sound eastwards, and went upon Inis-rathain; and some of his people went upon Inis-aenaigh, and took sheep therefrom to eat. When [*the Foreigners*] observed, moreover, that Maghnus and his people had gone towards the island, and then to another island, and that they had neither watch nor ward over the Foreigners, and that the island was between them and the Foreigners—when the Foreigners perceived this they arose furiously, terribly and quickly; and they suddenly lifted their boats along the strand, and put them on the sea, and filled them promptly with forces, and with armed, mail-clad soldiers, who went upon the two islands, and killed all the people they found in them. Maghnus and all of his people who were in Inis-rathain, arose and went into their vessels; and if O'Maille's people had been esteemed by Maghnus, he (*O'Maille*) would have sent his vessels against the Foreigners and their boats. However, though short the period of the day remaining at this hour, there was not a cow remaining on any island of Innsi-Modh that was not transferred to the shore before night; and [*the owners of the cows*] would have themselves previously gone away, through thirst and hunger, if they had not been captured; and many inferior persons were slain between them this night. On Friday, moreover, the day following, they went upon the islands of the North of Umhall, and the masters of the mercenaries, in honour of the Passion, imposed a restriction that no man should be killed. When the Foreigners had succeeded in robbing and plundering Umhall, by sea and land, they proceeded with their cows and preys to Lughbhurtan;[5] and the Foreigners went from thence by regular marches to Es-dara, when

[1] Doon Castle, near Westport.
[2] Country between Clew Bay and Killeries.
[3] Leenane.
[4] Inisheeny.
[5] Luffertaun.

they committed a depredation on O'Domhnaill, on account of the banishment to him of Fedhlim." (L.C.)

Maurice FitzGerald held Tirconnell under de Lacy, and had made O'Donnell submit.

The remark that O'Malley's people had not been esteemed by Maghnus seems to mean that Maghnus, being settled in Umhall, acted oppressively towards the O'Malleys, who therefore did not help him, but rather hoped for his defeat. This seems to have caused a family quarrel.

The English army came back from the north through Roscommon, and captured the Rock of Lough Key, and left a garrison there, which was shut out of the island one day by the Irish warder left therein. MacDermot thus recovered the Rock.

"The Foreigners afterwards left Connacht without food, clothes, or cattle; and they did not carry off with them either pledges or hostages on this journey; and they left neither peace, nor quietness, nor tranquillity, nor happiness in the country; but the Gaeidhel themselves were robbing and killing one another regarding the residue which the Foreigners left in it on this occasion. As regards Fedhlim, however, he made peace with the Justiciary, and obtained the King's five cantreds, out of which he was to receive rent and customs; and Cormac, son of Tomaltach MacDiarmada, came with him." (L.C.)

The following entries occur in the Annals of Loch Cé, but without indications of date:—

"Taichlech, son of Aedh O'Dubhda, King of Ui-Amhalghaidh and Ui-Fiachrach, was killed by the discharge of an arrow, whilst interfering (*to quell a dispute*) in the camp of Fedhlim, son of Cathal Crobhderg, King of Connacht."

"The two sons of Muiredhach O'Maille, Domhnall and Muirchertach, were slain by Domhnall, son of Maghnus, son of Muirchertach O'Conchobhair, and by Niall Ruadh, son of Cathal O'Conchobhair, in Cliara, where they were interred also."

"Tuathal, son of Muirchertach O'Conchobhair, was killed by Conchobhar Buidhe, son of Toirdhelbhach O'Conchobhair, and by Conchobhar, son of Aedh Muimhnech, *in hoc anno*."

"The mercenaries and kernes who were on Finn-loch of Cera, acting oppressively on the part of the son of Ruaidhri, were slain by Maghnus, son of Muirchertach, *in hoc anno*. . . . The castle of Milic was broken down by Fedhlim O'Conchobhair."

The following entry appears in 1236, showing the ill-feeling which arose in 1235: "Maelechlainn O'Maille was killed on Oilen-dachrunde by Domhnall, son of Maghnus, son of Muirchertach O'Conchobhair."

In 1236 Richard de Burgo went to England. He built the castle of Loughrea in this year. A breach occurred between the justiciary and Felim—about a boundary, according to the Annals of Boyle. Felim was driven away to Ulster, and Brian, son of Torlogh, son of Ruaidhri, was set up in his place.

Felim came back at the invitation of O'Kelly, O'Flynn, and others, and made a successful attack on Brian at Randown. MacCostello was present on Brian's side. Richard de Burgo came against him with an army, which seems to have met another brought by Maurice FitzGerald in Roscommon, probably near Castlereagh. The Clan Murtough seems to have risen as usual. Richard therefore had to go off to deal with his own rebels, leaving Maurice FitzGerald to deal with the king's cantreds. His proceedings are thus told:—

"When MacWilliam heard, moreover, that this defeat[1] had been inflicted on all of his people who had turned against him, he joined with O'Conchobhair,[2] and came to attack him,[3] or to pacify him. Diarmaid, son of Maghnus O'Conchobhair, went under the protection of the son of Muirchertach O'Conchobhair. Then it was that MacWilliam proceeded without notice, without being observed, to Tuaim-dá-ghualann, and from thence to Magh-Eo of the Saxons; and not a stack of seed or of corn of all that was in the great relig of Magh-Eo, or in the relig of the church of Michael the Archangel, was left without being taken away together; and three score, or four score baskets were brought out of these churches, besides every other injury and disorder committed after them; but this was of little consequence. And they went from thence to Turloch, on which the same punishment was inflicted. And they sent out great predatory bands against the people of the son of Maghnus, who met the people of Conchobhar Ruadh and of Turlagh, and plundered them all indiscriminately. Maghnus, indeed, was obliged to send away from him such of the people of the son of Maghnus O'Conchobhair as had come to him, or else the same treatment would have been inflicted on him as had been inflicted on his brother. As to Conchobhar Ruadh, moreover, he went on the morrow into the house of MacWilliam, and made peace there; and his preys of the cows of which he had been plundered were restored to him; and what the people of the church found alive of their stock was given to them. Regarding the son of Maghnus, also, he went into the house of the Foreigners for the sake of his cows and people; *i.e.* of all that had been left to him of his cows. Then MacWilliam went to Balla, where he remained two nights, and proceeded from thence to Tuaim-dá-ghualann; and he left Connacht afterwards without food or clothing in church or territory, without peace, or quiet, or prosperity, but each man attacking his fellow,

[1] At Randown. [2] Brian. [3] Felim.

excepting the supremacy which the sons of Muirchertach conceded to him. . . .

"Great rain, and bad weather, and war in this year; famine, and scarcity of food and clothing; and kernes and sons of malediction, who had been candle-extinguished by the hands of bishops, without respect for church or sanctuary; and superior dignitaries of the Catholic church were neither night nor day without suffering from fear or terror. Numerous retreats and frequent headlong routs to the churches *took place*, before Foreigners and Gaeidhel, and lodging-houses were made of churches and the residences of saints in this year; and during the period of twelve years down from the war of O'Neill were the Foreigners and Gaeidhel plundering in turn, without sovereignty or supremacy being possessed by one beyond another, but the Foreigners able to destroy it (*Connacht*) every time they came into it; the king and royal heirs of Connacht pillaging and profaning territories and churches after them." (L.C.)

This last paragraph expresses the cause of the troubles, the quarrelling of the O'Conors and other native chiefs among themselves. The English policy up to this time had been to leave the Irish chieftains in possession as vassals, to govern and hold the country through them. The annalists tell us how completely it failed and why it failed. O'Brien tried his strength fairly, and when beaten accepted his former position honestly, thereby retaining possession of most of his territories.

The annalist writes of Richard de Burgo's visit to England in this year, "And little of Erinn's benefit did he effect by his journey"; from which it may be inferred that he arranged with King Henry for a new policy in his lordship of Connaught—the distribution of it among the barons of Ireland, and the establishment of colonies and garrisons, which would compel the Irish chieftains to keep the peace. This policy was carried out in 1237, when it is noted that "The barons of Erinn came into Connacht, and commenced to build castles in it"; again, in 1238 it is noted that "Castles were erected in Muinter-Murchada, and in Conmaicne-Cúile, and in Cera, by the aforesaid barons."

In 1237 Felim came again and defeated Brian in a small battle. FitzGerald now gave up the attempt to maintain Brian, but Felim gave up his pretensions of independence and accepted the lordship of the Five Cantreds. He visited King Henry in 1240. Certain it is that henceforth, until his son Aedh broke into rebellion, he was a loyal vassal of the king, and kept the peace towards R. de Burgo.

The following notes occur regarding Mayo chieftains in 1237:—

"Maghnus, son of Diarmaid, son of Maghnus, was killed by Domhnall, son of Diarmaid, son of Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair, *in hoc anno.*

Muirchertach, son of Diarmaid, son of Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair, was killed by the sons of Maghnus, son of Muirchertach Muimhnech O'Conchobhair, in this year." (L.C.)

"A depredation was committed by Conchobhar, son of Cormac, on Ruaidhri O'Gadhra, whose brother he killed." Conor was a MacDermot.

In 1238 "Donnchadh, son of Duarcan O'hEghra, King of Luighne, was taken prisoner by Tadhg, son of Aedh, son of Cathal Crobhderg; and when he was taken away to be confined his own kinsmen, *i.e.* the sons of Aedh O'hEghra, slew him on the way in Tir-Briuin-na-Sinna.

"Maelruanaidh, son of Donnchadh O'Dubhda, was slain by Maelsechlainn, son of Conchobhar Ruadh, son of Muirchertach Muimhnech O'Conchobhair, and by the son of Tighernan, son of Cathal Migaran O'Conchobhair." (L.C.)

These entries, and others, show how confused were the quarrels of O'Conors among themselves. If the entries relating to O'Conors who were not connected with Mayo are taken into account the effect is still more confusing. One point comes out well. The Clan Murtough produced very turbulent and very able men. They were not in a position to secure the sovereignty for themselves, but were at all times ready for war. While they were vassals of de Burgo, or of his vassals, they were unable to take part in the O'Conor family quarrels. When they were expelled in 1273, and obliged to live among the other O'Conors, they took a high position and forced members of their family into the sovereignty of the O'Conors for a time.

In the latter part of this period the following families are ascertained to have been settled in Mayo: Ruaidhri's sons Torlogh and Aedh in Carra; Clan Murtough, Clan Manus, and Clan Cathal Migaran in Clann Cuain and in Umhall. The family of Cathal Crobhderg was probably settled among the Conmaicne, but whether they were actually settled or not, the Conmaicne were very much under the control of the O'Conor kings. The Ciarraighe were in much the same position.

In the new order all the O'Conors were expelled from Mayo except Clan Murtough, who remained in Umhall and perhaps in Clann Cuain for thirty years.

O'Dowda was turned out of Tirawley. O'Gara and O'Hara were turned out of Gallen and North Costello. Thus they cease to be Mayo families.

CHAPTER X.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

UNDER King Cathal Crovderg, the transition from Irish to Roman discipline and practice was completed by transfer of the ancient endowments to the bishops, and imposition of a legal liability to pay tithes, which must have been made effective by the beginning of the thirteenth century, as the parish work could not be carried on without land or tithes. The tithe not being equivalent to the glebes and conventual lands, much amalgamation of parishes was necessary, which we know to have taken place at that time.

The tithe was soon taken away in great part by assignment of rectories to monasteries, until only a few incumbents were rectors, who usually held the rectory by right of cathedral office. The bishop took one-fourth and the rector three-fourths, or the rector half and the curate one-fourth. In the fifteenth century even vicarages were made over to the College of Galway.

The ancient abbeys of Cong and Mayo kept rectories of parishes which must have been for the most part under their management from early times. Other rectories were assigned to new foundations, and others after 1237 by the new lords to monasteries with which they had family connection in other provinces. Land given to a monastery carried the tithe with it. The parochial clergy were so sacrificed to the monks that after a time in some dioceses of Ireland the bishops had difficulty in filling the charges, and to do so had to get dispensation for removal of disqualification.

Errew Abbey has been noted as the first built in this country under the influence of the ideas and system introduced with the Cistercians of Mellifont. Cong was re-edified in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and Inishmaine probably a little earlier. These and Mayo are the only houses which survived from the early period, unless, as is probable, the small house of nuns near Ballinrobe, called Killeennacrava, be a survival.

In 1216 Ballintubber Abbey, which became one of the greatest abbeys of Mayo, as rich or richer and second to Cong only in antiquity and reputation, was founded for Regular Canons of St.

Augustine of noble birth, the first original foundation under the new system in this county.

To the period between 1170 and 1230 we may assign such great parish churches as those of Shrule, Holyrood at Ballinrobe, and Burriscarra, all about ninety feet long in Gothic style, as built by the descendants of Torlogh Mor O'Conor, being found where those O'Conors are known to have settled, and not elsewhere in Mayo as far as I know. Here they came as new lords, and built great churches for themselves in the style of their time, as the new English lords soon after founded abbeys for themselves. The local chieftain families had no occasion to build new churches, nor inducement to sever connection with their own old abbey churches. Nor did the transfer of lands to bishops, and consequent decay of the convents of monks with which their families had been associated, encourage them to endow fresh communities.

These changes must have been felt in the social life of the people, though we cannot say how they were felt, as we have no knowledge of daily life in the country in general. They were brought about by a change in the feelings of the superior clergy, and not in consequence of changes in the feeling of the people of the country. The disappearance of so many of the clergy, though no doubt spread over some years, made a difference between old days and new. The conquest of Connaught, and appearance of new lords and their followers throughout the greater part of Connaught, and over nearly all Mayo in particular, made the break complete and sudden.

Churchmen played no visible part in the history of this county. Lay and ecclesiastical history may be said to run side by side, but the course of the latter was affected by the former, which made the ecclesiastical tendencies already at work general and effective.

In the wars of conquest and settlement the clergy had no part. Irish bishops and abbots were not warriors or servants of their kings. But when the country was settled we find that Archbishop Flann MacFlynn and Bishop John O'Laidigh of Killala petitioned the king in 1255 on behalf of themselves and the clergy for redress of grievances connected mainly with legal proceedings of the king's ministers, and that they got a remedy on several points. On the whole the grievances seem to have arisen in administration of the law through a wide expanse of country not yet fully settled and fitted for the king's legal system in all respects, and not from actual wrongdoing, though they did make some complaints of corrupt practices; to which the king could answer only as he did, that such things were forbidden and that he would punish any officer against whom misconduct was proved.

Walter of Salerno was appointed archbishop in 1258, but did not live to come to the diocese. Until the appointment of Stephen Ful-

bourne in 1286, the archbishops were of Gaelic family. Stephen was the king's minister, and cannot have done much in the diocese. He was succeeded in 1289 by William Bermingham, a son of Meyler, who was head of the Connaught branch of the family, a turbulent man who quarrelled with his clergy. But those quarrels had no connection with Mayo. The archbishops were of Gaelic family after his death in 1312.

The first English bishop of Killala was John Tankard, elected in 1306. No Englishman was appointed to Achonry for a long time.

So long as the king's power prevailed in Connaught, bishops were appointed in the usual course; the king gave the Chapter leave to elect, and assented to the election if satisfied, whereupon the elect was presented to the Pope for confirmation. As this course was not always exactly followed, disputes arose from time to time. When the king's power disappeared his interference ceased. By the close of the fourteenth century the Chapters had lost their rights, and the Pope appointed as he pleased. In the fifteenth century clergymen working in England were appointed bishops of Achonry and Annaghdown, who never came to their dioceses. Some were suffragans of English bishops. The appointments must have been made to give them income. They paid substantial fees to the Pope on appointment, which would not have been paid for honorary title. The bishopric of Mayo was revived in this century, and at least one bishop, John Bell, appointed in 1493, was a suffragan of the Archbishop of Canterbury. After his time it was again amalgamated with Tuam.

In such conditions it is no wonder that the Cathedral Church of Achonry was in ruins, and that the Cathedral Church of Tuam was only the chancel of the great church built by King Torlogh Mor, the nave having fallen in 1184. Legate Wolf describes the church as having been used as a fortress for 300 years until Archbishop Bodkin recovered it for religious use. It is hard to understand this, that it was abandoned in the thirteenth century, when Stephen Fulbourne left articles for use there, and the king orders various articles to be handed over to the Dean and Chapter for decoration of the church. The explanation may be that the ruined nave was adapted as a fortified dwelling for the archbishop, which he would require in the thirteenth century; that eventually it fell into lay hands when the archbishop lived elsewhere, of which there is some evidence in the division of Connaught and Thomond of 1574, which mentions Archbishop Lally in the county of Galway only as Bishop of Annaghdown, and describes the archbishopric of Tuam and the bishoprics of Mayo and Killala as in the county of Mayo. The archbishops had large manors

at Aghagower and Kilmaine, and may have been in the habit of living there.

The Chapters fell into decay and existed only in name. The members ceased to do duties except as incumbents of parishes held as prebends. Prebendaries who survived seem to be canons who held no particular office. In some cases the title of Prebendary survived without emoluments.

With such corruption and decay in all that relates to the episcopal order, we can understand that the parochial clergy fell into a very poor state, depressed and neglected more and more until the Church reached its lowest point of corruption in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Degradation of secular and exaltation of regular clergy correspond with and account for the difference between contemporaneous parochial and monastic architecture. In the beginning of the thirteenth century the new monastic and parochial churches in the Gothic style present such differences as might be expected from the different size and purpose, but the further developments in monastic architecture were not accompanied by like developments in parish churches. We find similar ornament, the fashion of the day, and there the likeness ends. Growth should have been, but was not, parallel. We find no reason for this but the fact that the monasteries got most of the money, that it was hard to raise funds for parish purposes. Those who designed the doors, windows, and towers of the abbey churches could have made and executed designs of equal grace and elegance on a smaller scale. But the standard parish church was a poor, mean building apart from difference in size.

The conquest imposed a marked change on architecture. The Gothic style came in naturally at first, adapted to existing conditions, as in the distinctly Gothic churches of Illaunnaglashy and Kinlough with rooms for the clergy at the west end, and a square tower opening into them, of about the same date as the three great parish churches, with which they should be classed rather than with the other parish churches. After the conquest most of the peculiar Romanesque features were thrown off in new work, but the churches are on the plan of the Romanesque churches with door and window frames of the new fashion, but modified from the English style, very much in the direction of using very few windows, and those only narrow slits, to economise glass and keep out wind and rain.

These later parish churches usually show ogival ornament and mouldings, where any are left. But, on the other hand, they show rather the proportions and the arrangements of the Romanesque churches, as if they were a reversion to Gaelic usage in church practices concurrently with adoption of Gaelic social customs. Families

of rank rebuilt or reconstructed ancient parish churches. Of course the plan would remain the same when the "restoration" consisted of insertion of more fashionable door and window frames in old walls, a not uncommon case. Other churches were enlarged only by lengthening. When the new church was built on a new site the architect was free to design the best that the funds allowed.

The old parish church of Inishrobe at Cuslough, now called Tempul na Lecca, is a good example. The earlier church is on Inishrobe, 28 ft. 6 in. long by 10 ft. 2 in. wide inside. The new church, showing ogival ornament, is on the mainland. It needs only to be stripped of ivy and plants, to be roofed and plastered, to restore it to its original condition. It measures 41 ft. by 18 ft. 6 in. inside. The plan is typical of most parish churches of its period, whether restored Romanesque or original. They differ a little in proportion of length and breadth, but the arrangements of doors and windows are in substance the same. The east window is generally very narrow, but sometimes large and even double, as at Islandeady. In the south wall is another narrow splayed window, close to the east wall in order to light the altar. In Tempul na Lecca it is so close to the east wall that the splay is only four inches on that side. This is sometimes larger, as at Kilmolara, where there is a mullion. A door is in the south wall near the west end. If the church is long a small slit may be found between the door and the west wall, or even two as at Islandeady. The church of Kilgeever is almost a copy of Tempul na Lecca, and the old church of Addergool on Lough Con seems to have been the same. This might be called a standard plan. These must have been very dark and gloomy places of worship.

The restored churches vary much, but are mainly of the same simple plan. The chancel of earlier times has been dropped. Where it is found, the church is a survival from a time when chancels were in fashion, when an earlier church was made a chancel by adding a nave, or was made a nave by adding a chancel.

The case of the monasteries differs widely, showing a course of prosperity and increase until the year 1469, when the last foundation was made in Mayo.

The small abbey on Clare Island is said to have been founded in 1224 for Carmelites, but as it was a cell of Knockmoy at the dissolution, and as it is improbable that a very small house would have been founded in such a remote place before the order was well established in these parts, we shall do better to take it to have been always Cistercian. If the date be correct, it is the first house founded in Mayo for what may be called the new orders as distinguished from the Augustinian Canons, who seem to have been but a reformation of old Irish orders.

After the Conquest most dates are fairly certain. Some of the greater of the new lords established monasteries, according to the custom of the time, as soon as they were settled in their new baronies. The great lords who held whole cantreds were the first to do so, and lesser lords did the same later on; but the abbey-building period in Mayo was for about a hundred years—from the middle of the fourteenth century.

The Monastery of Athlethan, or Strade Abbey, is the earliest of known date. Jordan de Exeter founded it for Franciscans before 1252, when it was made over to the Dominicans. It was burnt in 1254 and rebuilt. The present ruins are those of a restoration of 1434, showing a large and beautiful church. Rathfran, a much smaller establishment, was an offshoot of this house, founded in 1274, probably by Stephen de Exeter.

Though we do not know of its existence for certain until 1337, the House of Hermits of St. Augustine at Ballinrobe may be the earliest Anglo-Norman foundation in the county. The architecture suggests an early date, and the size a great lord as founder. Maurice FitzGerald founded many monasteries. As soon as he was in firm possession of his great Sligo estate he built that abbey, and is likely to have given this house for his South Mayo estate.

Burriscarra is undated, but is in an early style, likely to have been built while Carra was under one great baron. It was built for Carmelites, but being abandoned by them for thirty years, was made over in 1412 to Austin Friars from Ballinrobe. Archbishop King says it was founded in 1298.

Ballinsmalla, also undated, was a small Carmelite house, which may be safely attributed to the Prendergasts of that barony.

The military orders do not appear in Mayo except in connection with the House of St. John at Ballinrobe, a farm given to the Hospital probably in the thirteenth century, as the Prior of the Hospital of St. John in Ireland had a bailiff there before 1304.

The only nunneries in Mayo were the ancient Killeennacrava, and Inishmaine which was made over to the great Benedictine Nunnery of Kilcreevanty at an unknown date.

We find two distinct plans of the greater abbey churches, which may be called standard plans of their period; but the minor houses differed from them, as might be expected, having smaller churches on various simple plans.

The earlier or thirteenth-century plan is a long rectangle, with a chapel at the west end opening into the north or south wall of the nave, and with conventual buildings on the opposite side, as at Rathfran, Ballinrobe, Burriscarra, Ballyhaunis, and Urlare. The original

plan of Strade is uncertain. The chancel is thirteenth-century work, altered later on.

The later or fourteenth-century plan, which came into Connaught in the fourteenth century, is a long church divided into choir and nave by two arches supporting two sides of a nearly square central tower or belfry, with transept and aisle sometimes. The belfry is lofty, and being less than the full width of the church, is elegant and slender. Burrishoole is exceptional in Mayo in having a tower the full width of the church. The choir is sometimes less than the full width of the nave. Such are Rosserk and Moyne, and such was Murrisk, whereof only the choir is left with enough to show what the tower was.

At the dissolution the monasteries were distributed as follows in the baronies:—

Kilmaine.

1. Augustinian Canons. Cong. Ancient and very rich.

2. Augustinian Canonesses. Killeennacrava. An ancient small nunnery, which seems to have been under Cong.

3. Augustinian Hermits. Ballinrobe. Founded before 1337.

4. Benedictine Nuns. Inishmaine. An ancient monastery, occupied in the early thirteenth century by men, probably Augustinian Canons, but afterwards made over to the Benedictine Nunnery of Kilcreevanty.

5. Knights Hospitallers. Ballinrobe. St. John's House was probably only a farm, not inhabited by Knights. It was in their possession in the thirteenth century.

6. Franciscans. Annagh. It is said to have been founded in 1440 by Walter Bourke, MacWilliam, who died in it, as a cell of Cong. If so, it was afterwards transferred to the Franciscans.

7. Franciscans—Third Order. Killeenbrenan or Kilbrenan, now called Moorgagagh. Founded in 1428, probably by one of the Bourkes.

Carra.

8. Augustinian Canons. Ballintubber. Founded by King Cathal O'Conor in 1216. A very rich house. The church is in Gothic style, with Norman features. The Canons were to be of noble birth. Cross Abbey, in Erris, was under it.

9. Augustinian Hermits. Burriscarra. Founded for Carmelites in 1298, probably by Adam Staunton. Being abandoned by them for thirty years, Austin Friars from Ballinrobe occupied it, and were confirmed in it in 1412.

Burrisool.

10. Dominicans. Burrisool. Founded in 1469 by Richard Bourke, MacWilliam. It was then but a wooden house, probably occupied hurriedly as a place for MacWilliam's retirement.

Murrisk.

11. Cistercians. Clare Island. A cell under Knockmoy, but said to have been founded for Carmelites in 1224.

12. Augustinian Hermits. Murrisk. Said to have been founded in the fourteenth century by O'Malley.

Tirawley.

13. Augustinian Canons. Errew. An ancient foundation. The remains were built probably in the twelfth or early thirteenth century.

14. Premonstratensian Canons. Killeennatrinody. In Killeen townland in Kilbride parish. A cell under the Canons of the Holy Trinity of Lough Key.

15. Augustinian Hermits. Ardnarea. Founded before 1402.

16. Dominicans. Rathfran. Founded in 1274 by a de Exeter, probably Stephen.

17. Franciscans—Conventuals. Bofeenaun. Probably a late foundation, but nothing is known of its history.

18. Franciscans—Observantins. Moyne. Founded in 1458 by Thomas Bourke, MacWilliam. A very important house; the ruins are still in good condition.

19. Franciscans—Third Order. Crossmolina. Founded before 1306, probably by a de Barry.

20. Franciscans—Third Order. Rosserk. This very fine building is said to have been founded by a Joy in 1400. It is difficult to explain why a Joy should have founded a house in Tirawley at that time.

Erris.

21. Augustinian Canons. Cross. A cell under Ballintubber, founded probably in the fourteenth century or beginning of the fifteenth.

Gallen.

22. Dominicans. Strade, or Athlethan. Founded for Franciscans before 1252 by Jordan de Exeter, who transferred it to Dominicans.

23. Premonstratensian Canons. Killeen. In Killeen townland of Attymas parish, whereof it held the rectory. A cell under the Canons of the Holy Trinity of Lough Key.

Clanmorris.

24. Augustinian Canons. Mayo. The abbey became the cathedral while the bishopric lasted. The ruins are of a much later date. A little of the ancient cashel remains. It owned a considerable estate.

25. Carmelites. Ballinsmalla. Of unknown origin, probably founded by a Prendergast.

Costello.

26. Augustinian Hermits. Ballyhaunis. Founded by Sliocht Jordan Duff MacCostello, a little before or after 1400 probably. The community never ceased to exist, as a few friars always lived at Ballyhaunis near their old house.

27. Dominicans. Urlare. Founded by MacCostello in 1434. The friars had been for two years in another place, probably the Carheen in Crossbeg townland in Aghamore parish.

The cessation of abbey-building must be attributed to decay in the Church and loss of fervour and religious feeling. We have no reason to suppose that Mayo was in better condition than other parts of the country regarding which there is direct evidence. The parish cures could not be filled without frequent dispensations for unqualified persons. There was no difficulty in filling monasteries.

General corruption brought about in other countries a desire for improvement and reform which took effect in the sixteenth century, but no such desire appears to have been felt in the Gaelic and Gaelicised parts of Ireland. Reformation came here from without, and not from within. The clergy of all kinds had lost their hold on the people. Great lords and their subjects alike had no regard for them, and left them to Pope and King to deal with at their pleasure.

Thomas O'Mullaly was appointed archbishop by the Pope in 1513, and lived untroubled by the spirit of inquiry, as far as we know, until his death in 1536. When he was appointed the Pope's power was undisputed; when he died that power was gone wherever the king established his authority in any degree.

The king now appointed Christopher Bodkin, whom the Pope had previously made Bishop of Kilmacduagh, to be Archbishop of Tuam, and the appointment held good. The Pope appointed Arthur O'Frizil, but the appointment had no effect. Lord Deputy Grey had come to Galway, and had intervened in the succession of MacWilliam Oughter. This was enough to take the power out of the Pope's hands.

It is a measure of the indifference of the people rather than of the

power of the king, which was in truth but slight. The king put his man in possession, and no one would turn him out. There was, indeed, no reason why any one should interfere. The services of the Church went on as usual without apparent change for many years yet.

Nevertheless Bodkin's appointment, apart from his position being due to the king, was the beginning of change. He appears to have tried to bring about an improvement of his clergy. His account of the clergy of his dioceses drawn up at the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign shows that several incumbents are studying at Oxford, where he was educated, and at Dublin. The list also shows that the parochial revenues were very largely usurped by men of rank, who are described as withholding profits. This probably means seizure of or withholding of tithes, and certainly denotes that laymen very commonly disregarded the rights of the Church.

Queen Elizabeth exercised some patronage of dignities, but there was very little interference on her part for some time. Her power was not made effective in these countries until the close of Sir N. Malbie's government. Owen O'Gallagher was made Bishop of Killala by the Pope in 1574. After his death Owen O'Conor, brother of Sir Donnell O'Conor Sligo, was elected, but his election was not confirmed until 1591, when it was confirmed by the queen as a reward for good service. Owen O'Hart was appointed by the Pope in 1562 to be Bishop of Achonry. At his death in 1603, Miler Magrath was appointed by the queen.

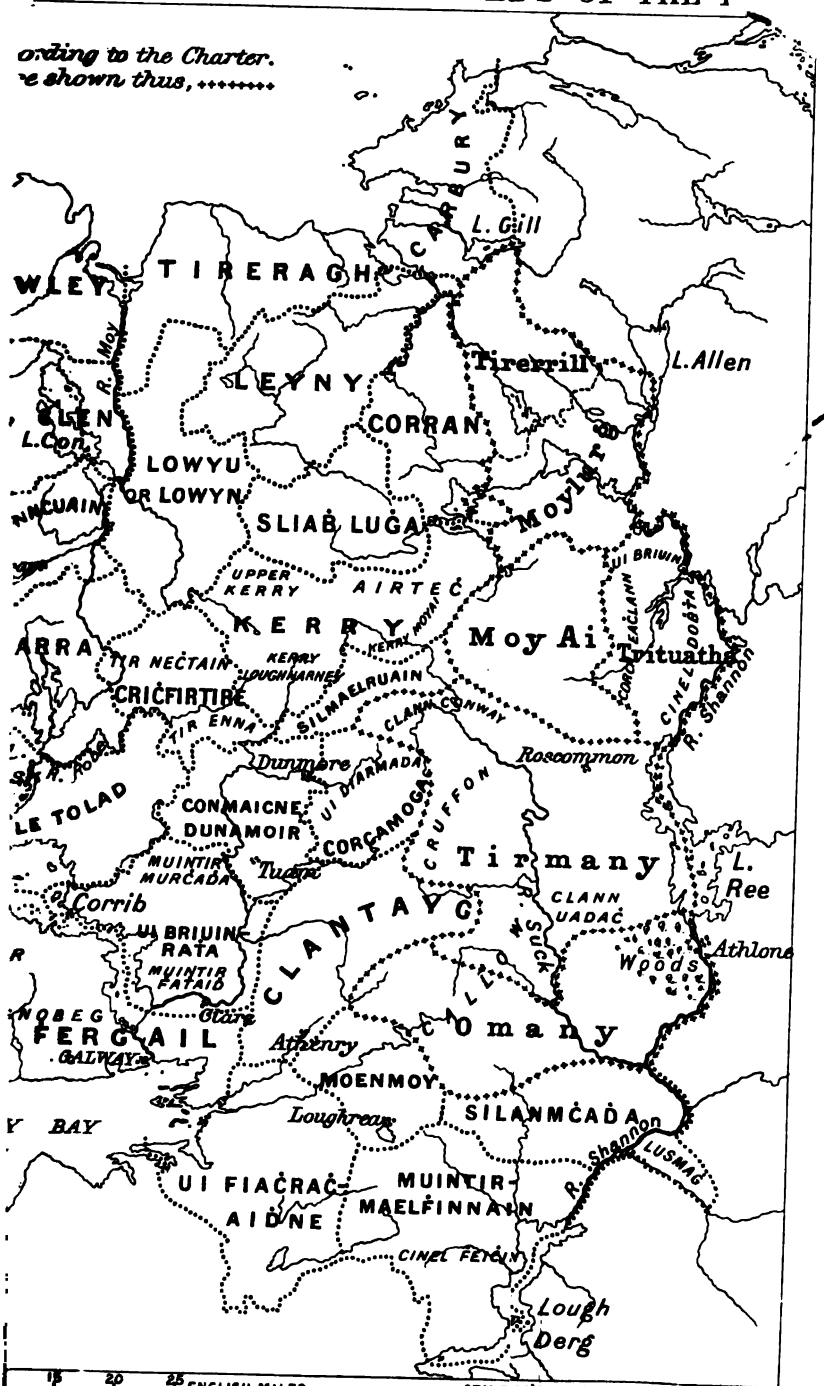
Bodkin's appointment was soon followed by the acts for the dissolution of the monasteries. It is hard to say how far the orders for dissolution were immediately effective in Mayo and the other parts of Connaught which were practically free from the power of the Crown. For many years the monks and friars occupied as usual their buildings, which were useless to grantees, because a man rich enough to occupy such large buildings must live in a castle at that time. We have evidence of surrenders of the possessions of the great houses, and evidence of grants, but we have no evidence to show whether such grantees as the Earl of Clanricard took real possession of the lands or left them to the monks. The grants reserved rents, indeed, but rents were not paid by the great lords in the west with exact punctuality in those days.

The monasteries had lost possession when the queen's Government was well established in Connaught. The inquisitions taken about the time of the composition show that their possessions had not been exactly ascertained, except in the case of some of the great houses, which had been dealt with by leases and grants. The minor houses of this county seem to have been ignored, and inquisitions

were taken then with a view to disposal by the Crown of thei possessions, which were in lay hands apparently.

On the whole it may be said that the Reformation was not mucl felt here in Bodkin's time. The Mass was not prohibited until 1559 and in fact continued until the queen's Government enforced the law in the last quarter of the century, when priests and friars were agents of the Pope and King of Spain to foment rebellion. So far as it was suppressed, the suppression affected only parts of Connaught. Countries under such lords as O'Rourk were left free from interference. But in Mayo and Galway, and other parts where government had been made effective, the revival of the Mass is cited as evidence of the confidence of the rebels. Except as a measure of precaution against rebellion, the Government did not meddle much in religious matters in this country, having its hands full with war and rebellion. It was not possible for the Government to deal with the Church generally during the turmoil of the close of this century.

NAUGHT & THE FIVE CANTREDS OF THE



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CHAPTER XI.

ENFEOFFMENT AND COLONISATION.

THE partition of Connaught has been dealt with in articles in volumes xxxi., xxxii., xxxiii. of the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, based on the inquisitions taken in 1333 after the death of Earl William de Burgo. In this chapter the subject will be treated with reference to the first settlement, details being given in the chapters relating to baronies. A few errors are corrected by later information.

Loughrea, Portumna, Meelick, and Galway were Richard de Burgo's chief castles in the south, in connection with which he made settlements and kept great tracts of country under his immediate control. Loughrea was the head of the whole lordship of Connaught, and was called the Manor of Loughrea, whereon all the fees depended. The only tract held in demesne in North Connaught was that which depended on the castle of Tubberbride, Ballintubber in Roscommon, called the cantred of Sylmolron, comprising the de Burgo part of the county of Roscommon, except Artagh and the lands of the Kerry of Moy Ai. All Mayo was let in great fees. The courts in Mayo mentioned in the inquisitions seem to have been established by feoffees whose tenures the chief lord had acquired.

Large tracts were let to the principal barons for low rents and services, and sometimes for knight-service only, as they had to incur great expense in establishing themselves and settling colonists. A good deal of transfer naturally followed the sudden division of so large a country, some of the grantees finding it convenient to transfer their grants immediately. Thus the great FitzGerald estate was built.

The inquisitions ignore Conmaicne Cuile Toladh, but we know that Maurice FitzGerald had a grant of the western half, including the barony of Ross. He acquired the eastern half from Gerald Roche, who seems to have acquired from Gerald Prendergast. The whole must have been held by knight-service in 1333, as no rents are reserved.

Maurice FitzGerald acquired Tir Nechtain and Tir Enna probably from Gerald Prendergast, as that family was settled there from very early days, but here again Gerald Roche appears as transferor of some lands in these territories together with his half of Conmaicne

Cuile. The whole territory was called the cantred of Crich Fir Thire in 1333.

Adam Staunton, a great baron of Kildare, got Carra proper, and a de Barry got what was called the half cantred of Fir Thire and Clann Cuain.

Henry Butler got the half cantred in Umhall called Owyll Butler, held to these days on titles depending on the original grant. The rest of Umhall appears in 1333 broken into estates held at higher rents, suggesting that an early intermediate tenure had disappeared.

The southern part of Tirawley was called the cantred of Bac and Glen. It is doubtful who was the original feoffee, probably Richard Carew, who certainly had a connection with this country. But William Barrett was the actual tenant of the greater part.

The northern part was called the cantred of Tirawley, where a Barrett and Adam Cusack were the principal tenants. Here again there is evidence of the disappearance of an intermediate tenure of Petit and Cusack.

Ardnarea, afterwards part of Tirawley, was in Earl Hugh de Lacy's cantred of Tireragh, but was in immediate possession of Peter Bermingham, as the manor of Ardnarea, called in 1333 the cantred of Tirremoy. The de Lacy tenure had then passed to the de Burgo earls.

Clan Murtough Mweenagh lived in Erris until 1274 under unknown conditions. Adam Fleming had a large estate there at his death in 1281. Later on we find that Stephen de Exeter had lands at Dookeeghan, and Henry Butler at Ballycroy under Jordan de Exeter, who must have come into possession of the cantred when the O'Conors were driven out, unless they had been holding under his father.

Hugh de Lacy had a grant of the cantreds of Carbury, Corran, Luighne, Sliabh Lugha, and Tireragh, for the service of 10 knights and 100 marks. He transferred the first three to Maurice Fitz-Gerald, who formed them into the manor of Sligo and built the castles of Sligo and Banada.

Sliabh Lugha of this grant comprised Gallen, which appears in the inquisitions as half the cantred of Lowyu or Lowyn. Hugh made it the manor of Meelick, which his widow and her husband, William de Lungespee, recovered in 1249 as one-third of five cantreds in Connaught assigned to her as dower, and given by her to Richard de Burgo in exchange for his manor of Disert Lawrence in Limerick, which had since been taken from her. Richard had taken Earl Hugh's place here as well as in Tireragh.

Gallen fell to Jordan de Exeter, and Sliabh Lugha proper to Miles de Angulo, who appear in history in connection with these territories at about the same time, and who probably were the earliest grantees under Earl Hugh.

The lands of the Kerry Oughter and of the Kerry of Lochnarney do not come to notice for some time. John FitzThomas of Desmond had held the latter and some land of the Kerry of Moy Ai under Sir Maurice of London. Henry Roche held under John and his successors by way of exchange for the manor of Mallow in Munster. At the close of the century he paid £33, 6s. 8d. yearly as rent to Maurice FitzThomas. Of the lands of the Kerry Oughter nothing is known.

A strong castle was built in each great fee to be held by a garrison to maintain the lord's authority, to protect his colonists, and to command the country. The Anglo-Normans had no liking for the stone forts of the Gael, preferring earthworks with wooden palisading, which could be put up quickly for temporary occupation. The weak point of the circular forts was the want of flanking defence. The Normans used Bretasches or wooden towers for this purpose in some cases. The cahers and raths were not large enough to hold the settlers and soldiers who came to occupy the country. We have evidence of the readiness of the early invaders to throw up forts and entrenchments for themselves, to avoid, as we may suppose, breaking up their strength by distribution in forts not close together.

Ballylahan is the sole example in this county of a typical baronial castle of the thirteenth century. A projecting spur from the high ground above the Broad Ford of the Moy, then perhaps crowned by such a rath as is by the roadside between it and Strade, was chosen for Jordan de Exeter's house and castle. The top was surrounded by high walls with towers giving flanking defence and accommodation for inmates and stores, and a large barbican about the gateway was the principal dwelling-house, facing the hill at the connecting neck of ground, which was cut by a ditch. The large courtyard was of irregular shape, because the walls followed the crest of the slope.

Castlemore Costello has disappeared, except enough to show that it was not the late rectangular tower and rectangular baun. Little is left of Brees Castle, which was perched on a hill. Castlecarra is on a peninsula whose isthmus is defended by a strong wall and gateway. The remains of the tower and buildings are so obscured by bushes that details cannot be made out. The early Lough Mask castle has been replaced by a fortified house of the early seventeenth century. The castles of Burrisool, Castlebar, and Kilcolman have disappeared or left only traces. From Downing's description of the remains of Castlebar in 1684 we may infer that it was of the Ballylahan type with round towers.

We are told that the Gael turned the seven towers of Banada into a monastery, which suggests that it was of Ballylahan type. It occupies a similar position by a ford of the Moy. Banada,

Ballylahan, and Castlekirk at Foxford secured easy passage across the great river.

Some may have been of the simple type of Moygara Castle, a large rectangle enclosed by high walls with square towers at the corners. Walter de Ridelesford's castle at Headford, built at the first occupation, was apparently of this type.

The first castles of Mayo were probably walls enclosing a large courtyard, with flanking towers at intervals if the site was irregular, or large towers at the four corners of a rectangle if the ground allowed such a plan. The lofty tower-house with small towers at the corners of the baun was a later development.

The owners of the great fees formed them into manors, sometimes breaking them into several manors, and their feoffees likewise made manors of their estates if they were large enough. The records mention the manors of Lough Mask, Roba, Moyne, Shrule, Lehinch, Carra, Castlemore, Ballycroy, Dookeeghan, and the episcopal manors of Cong, Kilmaine, Aghagower, and Kilmoremoy.

We may assume that manors were organised wherever there was a sufficient English colony to require the machinery. The estates in hands of Irishmen would not be made manors, as they had no need for such machinery.

Each manor had some house or castle as its head. But the castle of the inferior manor would be less than that of the lord of a cantred or barony, rather a fortified house, its importance varying with the importance of the manor.

The earliest castles were commonly built on the site of or close to an important dun, as Castlemore close to Ailech Mor, and Castlekirk replacing Dunguaire in Tirawley, or in places of military importance, where there may have been duns already. When we consider the lesser castles, whose sites did not depend on general military objects, but on local convenience, this is more apparent. As the enfeoffments followed the known tribal and clan divisions of lands, we may say that the Gaelic Tuath often became a Norman manor, and its chief's dun the lord's manor-house. The name of manor has not survived, because it denoted only a legal condition.

When the grantee of a large estate came to settle tenants, he would naturally occupy some convenient fort or throw up a temporary entrenched camp. This camp, or the fort if an earthen one, would be called *le Mote* by the settlers, and thus I presume the name of Moat has clung to three townlands in this county, and to several in other parts of Connaught, and down to the sixteenth century to land near Togher House in this county, which are alike in having no trace of the high flat-topped mound which has been called Moat, but do generally show low earthworks, in some cases not like the ordinary

rath. Mr. Westropp's researches have shown that the Normans applied the term mote to any kind of defensive earthwork, and this definition covers the Connaught moats.

Though this Norman name has stuck to some of their first dwelling-places, they were not the permanent abodes of the lords. The name seems to denote an early occupation, which was abandoned in favour of a stone house or tower which would be called a castle. Or if the original "mote" was changed by building a stone house or tower, then the name was changed also. The common case is that the castle has been built near the old fort.

Three buildings survive in Mayo from which we may infer the nature of the early small manor-house or small castle. Ballykine Castle was at first an oblong house measuring 24 ft. 3 in. by 17 ft. 10 in. inside. The ground floor was two rooms, 14 ft. and 7 ft., the smaller one vaulted, and the upper floor a single room fairly well lighted. The lower rooms had but a couple of small slits in the smaller room, and a slit beside the door into the large room. The lower door may not have been original. Access to the upper floor was by a door in the side wall, reached now by a covered flight of steps along the side of the house, which seems to be part of the addition. The castles of Cuslough and Ballisnahiney suggest that the sole original entrance was the upper doorway, reached by a ladder. There was no fireplace.

This was a house, defensible against robber gangs, not a tower or castle. The country must have been in a fairly peaceful condition. A time came when stronger defence was wanted, and was given by additional work on each side supporting a walk and a parapet with embrasures for shooting arrows. A small square tower of at least four stories was added to one end, to which there was access only from the house.

Under the great de Burgo lords, the country was in such peace generally that a gentleman of some position could safely live in such a house. From 1333 began a period of increasing disorder. We must assign this house to the thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The additions cannot be dated, but must have been there in the sixteenth century when MacDonnells occupied the castle.

The house was built on the slope of the south end of a ridge, in or on the edge of a caher which formed its baun. The souterrain of the caher is seen, owing to covering stones having fallen in. The English or Norman settler built his good stone house in the caher of the O'Caidhins. (*Journal of Galway Archæological and Historical Society*, vol. iii. p. 95.)

Cuslough Castle may be described as a larger and better Ballykine, without a tower, but with the side parapets as part of the original

plan. The entrance to the first floor is in a gable. It measures 32 ft. 4 in. by 25 ft. inside.

Ballisnahiney Castle is a small tower, 42 ft. by 27 ft. outside, with an entrance to the first floor. Holes in the wall below it are suitable for corbels to support a stone flag as at Cuslough, and two holes above it suggest that a door was hung above which could be pushed up and let fall. The same arrangement seems to have been in use at Cuslough, where the entrance shows no sign of door fittings, and the wall above is so covered with ivy that holes or stones may be above. In both castles one side is gone. Cuslough Castle was inhabited in the nineteenth century, and had modern doorways for the ground floor. We may be sure that these entrances to the first floor would not have been made if there had been entrances to the ground floor.

The castle of Ballisnahiney is inside Lis na hEighrighe, a caher which formed its baun, having a large cave.

Castlelucas shows only the lower part of the walls of a house or castle about the size of Ballisnahiney, within a wide deep circular ditch as of an old fort.

Ballykine and Cuslough may be put together as houses. Ballisnahiney is a tower. Castleconor in Sligo may be classed with it in respect of having only narrow slits as windows, and occupying the site of Dun MicConor, though much larger, as might be expected, seeing that it was the head of a large manor.

The only manor in Mayo regarding which we have any details is the sub-manor of Lehinch or Muinter Crechain, which appears in the Plea Rolls of 28–30, 33 Ed. I., 2 Edw. II. William Prendergast sued Henry, son of Henry Roche, the actual lord of the manor, and his freeholders for possession, alleging that they had no entry except after Gerald Roche had unjustly dispossessed his grandfather William after King Henry's first passage to Gascony, 1243. The other defendants called Henry to warranty, and he called to warranty George Roche, a Munster lord. The decision is not entered in the Rolls. The Roche possession of over fifty years was admitted. W. Prendergast seems to have been suing on a title which his ancestor had passed to Gerald Roche. The suit must have been dismissed, as Henry's widow sued for dower in 2 Edw. II., and her claim was admitted.

From the first suit are taken the particulars showing the townlands held in demesne and the names of the freeholders. The townland names are given in modern spelling if still in use. The best of the alternative forms is selected from the others.

Plea Rolls, 28 Edw. I. Roll 52, m. 4.

William de Prendergast *v.* Henry de Rupe for the vills of Clonco, Balylayne, Dericoul Oughteragh, Derinrus, and Baliblohagh in Muintercrechain.

v. Milo f. Philip de Rupe for the vill of Coolcon.
v. Henry f. John ,, ,, ,, Ardalas.
v. David f. Henry ,, ,, ,, Synnaghcathyn.
v. Henry f. Henry ,, ,, ,, Dericoul Ighteragh.
v. Richard f. John de Burgo for the ¼ vill of Skealoghan.
v. John le Whyte ,, ,, Moneycrower.
v. Eustace Cusyn ,, ½ ,, Lathathlong.
v. John f. Gerald ,, vills of Coolisel, Derineserchath, and Kilglassan, as his inheritance.

In a later plea David Cadwelly calls Henry to warrant to him the ¼ vill of Skealochan, and John le Whyte is omitted.

When Henry Roche died his son and heir Henry was under age. Consequently the suit for dower was against those who were in possession of the manor by right of wardship, namely, William de Burgo, probably Grey Sir William, the Earl of Ulster, and Richard de Lyt, a man of importance in Connaught who had been sheriff, and against two others in possession of portions of the land.

Plea Rolls, 2 Edw. II. m. 30 d.

Agatha, widow of Henry de Rupe, for her dower, ⅓ in the manor of Lehinch.

v. Wm. de Burgo, keeper of the land of the heir, for ⅓ of ½ of 1 vill in Ballyblohagh, 1 vill and £1, 6s. 8d. rent in Kilglassan, ½ of 1 vill in Dericoul Oughteragh, ½ of £1, 6s. 8d. rent in Coolisel.

v. W., son of Richard Bermingham, and Elena de Rupe for ⅓ in ½ of 1 vill in Kilcommon.

v. R., Earl of Ulster, for ⅓ in ½ of 1 vill and £1, 6s. 8d. rent in Skealoghan.

v. Wm., Archbishop of Tuam, for ½ of 24 acres in Kilcommon.

v. R., Earl of Ulster, keeper of the land of the heir, for ⅓ of 1d. rent in Synnaghcathyn, £1, 6s. 8d. rent in Derineserchath, 3s. 4d. rent in Ardalas, 16s. 8d. rent in Coolcon, £3 rent in Carthy.

v. R. de Lyt, keeper of the land of the heir, for ⅓ of 1 vill in Derinrus, 1½ quarters of 1 vill and £2, 13s. 4d. rent in Moneycrower, 1 vill in Clonco, 1¼ vill and £2, 13s. 4d. rent in Skealoghan, 1 vill in Dericoul Ighteragh.

They all come and agree.

The rents amount to £14, 13s. 5d., of which only £1, 0s. 1d. was paid by members of the family. A large extent was held in demesne—that is, was tilled by the lord, or was let to tenants at will and on other than freehold tenure. The profits must have been large, but owing to the nature of the suit they are not disclosed. Richard de Burgo may be a son of the John from whom came the MacSeonins.

Coolisel comprised Lissatava. Dericoul comprised Ballymongan.

Carthy is now Carras. These and the names in use show that the manor was the parish of Kilcommon or thereabouts.

The barons encouraged traders to form small corporate towns by grants of two or more carucates of land on burgage tenure, whence the Irish Burgheis, surviving as Burris, and recording the existence of a small town or an attempt to form one. There is contemporary evidence of such towns in other counties of Connaught, but not of their existence in Mayo. The sixteenth-century tradition is given as follows: "The names of certain castles and market towns which were built by Englishmen in the county of Mayo: Shruher, Kilveen, which was governed by a portriffe, Ballinrobbe, Castlekirke, Ballymonagh, Bures-Care, Bures-Owle, Ballalahame, Lehence, Mayo, Rosse, Castlemore MacCostelowe, which were all good market towns, and for the most part were ruled by portriffes, but now (saving the bare castles in some) the towns are all destroyed, whose broken gates and ruinous walls are this day to be seen."

Kilveen may be Kilmaine, but is more likely to be Kilvine, where there is a townland of Burris. Castlekirke must be the Barrett Castle opposite Foxford. Rosse is probably the Ross near Killala. Ballymonagh I cannot identify. These towns no doubt made a fair start, but died out after 1338. None attained to the importance of Dunmore, which had a charter for murage.

CHAPTER XII.

CHANGES OF APPEARANCE OF COUNTRY.

UNTIL the Anglo-Norman settlement the appearance of the country was, except in one respect, much what it was at the dawn of the legendary period, duns, raths, cahers, cashels, and houses being very little altered if at all. The duns and raths of this country seem to have had stone facings to the sides of the earthen ditches and ramparts, and to have had stone walls on the ramparts. The effect must have been that of stone buildings, at a little distance not differing in appearance from the purely stone cahers and cashels. The stone walls seem to have been whitened as a rule.

Some of the smaller raths, farmhouse enclosures, were no doubt defended by palisading, but so many of the important forts show remains of such stonework when closely examined that it is safe to take it to have been general. In countries where stone was not so abundant palisading no doubt took its place, but I think palisading was unusual in the greater forts of Mayo. Some had a palisading of large flat slabs of stone.

Inside these defences were wooden dwelling-houses and offices. The dwelling-houses of the country generally were round, but the great houses were certainly in many cases rectangular, and sometimes two stories high. Except where there were two-storied houses, the buildings inside would not show much more than their roofs of thatch or shingle above the walls of defence.

The cabins of the poorer folk were generally round down to the sixteenth century. When they were in large numbers about a dun they must have had the effect of a village. But there were no villages in the modern sense. The houses were in large or small groups, dependent on fortified places, or were scattered.

The circular forts are so abundant that it is not likely that there were many outlying houses far from the protection of a fort or homestead, except where people took their cattle to mountain pastures.

Woods were plentiful in most parts of the country, but the richest lands appear to have been well cleared. What are now rough hills and coarse land were generally covered with wood and brushwood. The latter mixed with marsh and water in extensive tracts were called

fastnesses, where people took refuge with their cattle in war, a country in which cattle could not easily be collected or refugees caught.

The country was mostly free from fences, but there were fenced fields and gardens, which did not interfere with free passage. The industry of the country was grazing, and tillage was of comparatively small account.

Doonoor in Levallyroe townland, to the south of Ballyhaunis, an earthen fort about ninety feet in diameter inside, has a rectangular enclosure attached to one side, and is enclosed with about twelve acres of land by an earthen fence and a stretch of the Curraun river. This fence seems to be as ancient as the fort, and encloses the water-course of an ancient mill. We may call this area a park or home farm.

In the townland of Kilgarriff in Aghamore parish is Lisnadhine (Lis of the Daingen), measuring about 190 feet by 120 feet inside. On it seem to have depended Lisnacartha (Lis of the Artisans), 200 yards to the north-west, and Lisanaffrin, 150 yards to the east-north-east, on low ground and much smaller than Lisnacartha. We may suppose Lisnacartha to have been occupied by the lord's smiths and carpenters and the like, and Lisanaffrin to have been occupied by millers and others whose work required abundance of water, as a mill-stream runs by it and an ancient millstone lies near it. Such a connection, though but a guess from names and position, explains how forts are often close together.

Doonoor and Lisnadhine are not to be treated as exceptional. We may imagine them to have been commonly repeated in their main features throughout the country, and to represent the establishments of the chief landowners.

The lake dwelling was an important feature in the country, almost every small lake having its crannog, and as many as seven or eight being found in a lake. Wherever a small round island with bushes is seen in a lake it is almost certainly a crannog. Crannogs are found also in marshes and bogs, which perhaps were once lakes, in some cases certainly. Cahers or stone forts were built on natural islands.

In 1224 the treasures of O'Conor were kept in Loch Nen, near Roscommon, and not in King Torlogh Mor's stone castle at Tuam, where the kings of Connaught had their principal dwellings. Crannogs were not abandoned until after the wars of the sixteenth century.

Giraldus Cambrensis notes that the Norwegians under Turgesius built castles all over the country in suitable positions. "These were surrounded with deep ditches, and very lofty; being also round, and most of them having three lines of defences. Walled castles, the remains of them, and vestiges of an early age, are to be found to the present day, still entire, but empty and deserted. For the Irish

people attach no importance to castles; they make the woods their strongholds, and the bogs their trenches."[1]

We must not infer that all the forts and cahers had been abandoned, and that the great men lived in plain houses. He refers to the great works regarded as fortresses, the castles then attributed to the Norwegians, expressing the fact that the Irish did not hold positions against a siege.

Works of the class which he seems to mean do not exist in Mayo, or have not been described. Some of our larger forts may have been deserted, but on the whole we may take it that nearly all were still in use.

The country was fairly supplied with main roads or tracks, most now obliterated by our roads and cultivation or covered by bog. The names of Togher and Ballagh record old causeways and passes. The Togherpatrick can be traced from Croaghpatrick to near Balla, only a narrow track, but enough for footmen, riders, and pack-horses. Here and there in rougher parts of the country other roads can be followed up in places, but this is the best known and best preserved. Being mainly a Pilgrim's Road, it went from church to church, passing through the great cashels about the churches of Loona and Drum, halting-places of pilgrims. The country being undrained and the larger rivers often a succession of narrow lakes, the fords were as important as bridges now. The few bridges were but planks laid on stone piers, some of which survive in the names embodying Clar, a plank.

It is not unlikely that the roads were kept better in the fifth century than in the twelfth, as it is certain that chariots were in use down to St. Patrick's time.

The one marked change since the earliest days was due to the growth of ecclesiastical buildings. At principal religious centres such as Mayo, Balla, Cong, great monasteries had grown up, occupied by a large establishment of monks, on whom depended great numbers of students. The monastic buildings were surrounded by a cashel, a high thick stone wall usually unmortared, enclosing a circular or oval area. A fragment of that of Mayo remains, from which the surveyors have laid down on the map an entire circuit.

Lesser churches had smaller cashels, but those of Ross on Lough Mask and Moyne near Headford were upwards of one hundred yards across. These great cashels differed only in size from secular cashels, and perhaps in having lower walls. The enclosures sometimes followed the irregular outline of a hill, sometimes were rectangular, as at Loona and Drum.

The great abbeys with huts of dependents and students must have

[1] Bohn's Antiq. Library, "Giraldus Cambrensis," p. 149.

looked like towns under the shelter of a castle. When we read in the Annals that a church was plundered and burnt in war, we may take it to mean that the town was burnt, unless the church itself is mentioned.

Enclosures of small churches were sometimes but a ditch and small bank, surmounted by a hedge or palings or a wall. As a rule every church had an enclosure which was more than what we call a churchyard, comprising the houses and offices of the clergy, and perhaps small gardens. A few early churches were built inside the fort of a chief who dedicated it to that use.

The Round Towers were the most striking objects in the country, the other buildings being small and low until the twelfth century.

The earliest known stone churches were very small, but much larger churches were built of wood and mud in early times. The stone church increased in size slowly until the twelfth-century changes suddenly introduced a larger style. They were so numerous that almost every family of high position must have had its church. How they were absorbed in large parishes is described in Chapter X.

Christianity added its own features to the aspect of the country, without altering other things. For the mysterious pagan remains, such as cromlechs and stone circles and the buildings in connection with wells, seem to have been generally left undisturbed or adopted for Christian purposes.

Cromlechs and stone circles must have been far more abundant than they are now. Until the house-building period and the period of enclosure by stone walls for cultivation, which came after the sixteenth century, there was seldom any reason for interfering with them.

The Anglo-Norman colonists made a marked change with their great castles, smaller castles or manor-houses, and small towns and farmhouses, and their great monasteries and larger parish churches, as already mentioned. As the families of the lords increased the country became filled with their castles, whose lofty towers and walled courts were a new and conspicuous feature in the landscape.

These colonists were above all tillers of the land, and must have marked their presence by wide stretches of ploughed lands; but the change in this respect was in quantity, as the Gael grew corn to a small extent, being principally a pastoral people. The new tillage was in open fields. This change came to an end when the small towns were abandoned in the fourteenth century and nearly all the traders and farmers disappeared from this county. The pastoral system then prevailed again.

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM THE COLONISATION TO THE DEATH OF EARL WALTER.

MAYO now had general peace, broken only by small raids and risings of O'Conors who had not yet been expelled.

In 1241 Maurice FitzGerald brought an army to Athlethan to subdue Tadhg O'Conor, son of Aedh, son of Cathal Crobhderg. There are indications that this Tadhg had settled himself in Leyny upon the O'Haras.

In 1242 "Niall, son of Domhnall Mūr, son of Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair, was burned, together with three O'Sechnasaighs, in a house in Magh-Eó of the Saxons, by Loghbhais[1] of the people of MacMaurice" (L.C.).

In 1243 Richard de Burgo died at sea on his way to Bordeaux to join King Henry in the war against the French. His eldest son Richard was a minor, came of age before May 1247, and died before November 1248. He left no child. His successor was his brother Walter, who came of age in 1250. It is remarkable that every successor to Richard's lordship of Connaught was a minor, a misfortune to the country, because the king's officers and grantees tried only to get what they could out of the custody; the country needed the protection which the lord gave it in his own interests.

Meanwhile the following incidents are recorded:—

In 1246 "Maelsechlainn, son of Conchobhar Ruadh, son of Muirchertach Muimhnech O'Conchobhair, was killed by [Muirchertach] O'Dubhda in this year. Muirchertach O'Dubhda was banished over sea after this killing" (L.C.).

In 1247 "Benedictus MacOirechtaigh, Airchinnech of Achadh-Fabhair of Umhall, was killed on the festival of the Cross, the third day of summer, by the son of Conchobhar Ruadh, son of Muirchertach Muimhnech, and by the son of Maghnus, son of Muirchertach Muimhnech O'Conchobhair, in treachery and deceit" (L.C.).

In 1247 an O'Conor raid was accompanied as usual by a rising of Clan Murtough. Torlogh, son of Aedh O'Conor, and Donogh MacGillapatrick of Ossory made a raid by Kilkerrin and Clare-

[1] Louis (?).

galway as far as Galway, when they are said to have burnt the town and castle. They killed several persons, among them MacElget, the seneschal of Connaught, and William de Burgo, the sheriff of Connaught. It is not likely that they captured the castle itself or the walled town. After plundering there they went away, and were pursued by the English, who gave battle. They got away after killing several of the English, and went into Carra. There Jordan de Exeter and Clann Adam [Staunton] and the English of Carra assembled and drove Torlogh out of the country, as he had not forces enough to meet them. Tadhg, son of Conor Roe, son of Murtough Mweenagh, and Tadhg, son of Tuathal, son of Murtough Mweenagh, burnt Burgeis-chinn-trachta, Burrishoole.

Tadhg, son of Conor Roe, is said to have burnt twenty-eight Englishmen in Inismor of Claenloch, which may have been the lake near Castlebar, but is more likely to have been the lake of that name near Dromahaire, which he is said to have captured in this year. It is most likely that both entries relate to the same event, the more so as he was killed by the MacCostellos in the following year, who were at this time fighting for the country of the Conmaicne of Moyrein. The annalist writes of this as a great war, but it was only a plundering raid. Torlogh and his army had to hurry along to avoid meeting the assembled forces of the English; the Irish chieftains did not join him.

The following proceedings in Umall are a continuation of the rising of the year 1247:—

1248. "The sons of Maghnus and the sons of Conchobhar Ruadh joined together and turned against the Foreigners, and the castle of MacHenry was burned by them and its constable taken prisoner; and the preys of the north of Umall were taken by them to Innsi-Modh. Jordan de Exeter, however, and John Butler, and Robin Lawless, and several persons along with them, assembled and went to Baile-tobair-Patraic, and from thence to Achadh-Fabhair; and they plundered all Umhall, north and south, on the morrow. Henry[1] came also, with a large army, into Umhall (for it belonged to himself, and he was residing in it). MacHenry then made peace with Domhnall, son of Maghnus, for the sake of his territory; and Domhnall promised that he would furnish forces and boats to *attack* his brother. As regards the sons of Conchobhar, moreover, they were on Innsi-Modh, and it was reported to them that a party had gone from MacHenry to Domhnall for boats. They advanced against this party, and killed O'hUain, the son of the foreign woman, and John, the son of the foreign priest; and Sinnott Guer, and four of his people along with him, were slain by Diarmaid, son of Maghnus, in this encounter.

[1] In the Irish thus. The translation adds Mac.

However, this was joy with sorrow, for the powerful champion and prop of battle, *i.e.* Diarmaid, son of Maghnus, was slain on the spot. Tadhg, son of Conchobhar Ruadh, was killed by the Foreigners in this year." (L.C.) The Annals of Clonmacnoise name Mahon, son of Dermot, son of Manus, son of Murtough, as the man who captured the castle which is called Tyrenmore. It is the castle of Burrishoole, which was on the point next north of the abbey. But it is just possible that there were two castles in Umall, that of Burrishoole and another belonging to MacHenry. MacHenry's castle being taken, a force was assembled in Carra, and Henry Butler brought up a second army, whereupon MacHenry made the peace with Donnell O'Conor. It seems as if MacHenry made a separate peace. But it is more likely that MacHenry detached Donnell from his confederates, who were afterwards defeated and compelled to submit. Henry Butler was the immediate lord of at least North Umall. John Butler seems to be a different person from MacHenry. I think that Henry and MacHenry are the same person, Henry being a son of a Henry Butler, and that John was a younger brother of Henry.

In the following year, 1249, King Felim's son Aedh attacked the English in Tireragh and brought his father into rebellion. The fighting and plundering did not spread into Mayo. But Jordan de Exeter, of the Gallen family, who was then the sheriff, was attacked at Athenry, where he was in command of some forces, and inflicted a severe defeat on Torlogh, son of Aedh O'Conor, who, having been set up by the English as King of Connaught, turned upon them immediately.

In 1251 Flann O'Lachtnan, chief of the Two Bacs, died. He was the last of his race who could be called a chieftain.

In 1256 Felim and Aedh and O'Rourk were again in rebellion. Walter de Burgo assembled a great force, put at 20,000 at the least by the annalists, which marched by Mayo and Balla to Achonry. It was arranged that it should meet the O'Reillys in Tirtuathail, but the O'Reillys suffered a crushing defeat as they retreated from near Lough Allen on the 14th September. The de Burgo army returned when the campaign thus failed, but probably not until the justiciary had come down, as O'Rourk made a separate peace with him, whereupon Aedh and Felim submitted.

In 1258 "A great fleet came from Innsi-Gall with Mac Somhairle;[1] and they passed round Erinn westwards to Conmaicne-Mara, where they robbed a merchant-vessel of all its goods, both wine and clothing, and copper and iron. The sheriff of Connaught, *i.e.* Jordan de Exeter went on the sea, with a large fleet of Foreigners, after Mac Somhairle and the fleet that had robbed the merchant-vessel. Mac Somhairle

[1] Somhairle was ancestor of the family of MacDonnell.

was at this time on an island of the sea, having his vessel ashore;[1] and when they saw the sheriff's fleet approaching them, Mac Somhairle put on his armour and his dress of battle and combat; and his people then put on their armour along with him. As regards the sheriff, moreover, when he reached the island, he landed promptly, accompanied by all the Foreigners who were ready. However, the sheriff was attended and served by Mac Somhairle and his people; and the sheriff was immediately killed there, together with Piers Agabard, who was a brave knight of his people, and other good men along with them. The fleet of the Foreigners subsequently turned back, after their best men had been slain; and Mac Somhairle went afterwards exultingly, enriched with spoils, with triumph of victory, to his own country." (L.C.)

In 1259 "Milidh Mac Goisdelbh *mortuus est*. Gilbert Mac Goisdelbh was taken prisoner by Aedh O'Conchobhair, who plundered all Sliabh Lugha. He (*Gilbert Mac Goisdelbh*) was afterwards set at large, and his three sons were taken as hostages in his place." (L.C.)

In 1262 Aedh O'Conor broke out again. He "plundered the Foreigners of all the west of Connacht eastwards from Magh-Eó of the Saxons, and from Balla, and burnt their towns and cornfields from thence to Sliabh Lugha, and slew many persons between those places" (L.C.). He sent another party to rob and burn between Tuam and Athlone. Walter de Burgo and the justiciary brought armies to Elphin and Roscommon and restored order. The site of Roscommon Castle was chosen, but work was not begun until 1269.

Under 1263 the Four Masters record an invasion by O'Donnell which they associate with a plundering of Sliabh Lugha. He is said to have joined Aedh in ravaging Clanricard, and to have separated from him and to have gone home by Shrule and Ballinrobe and Tirawley, obtaining his demands from all. The accurate Annals of Loch Cé would not have ignored such a remarkable event. An account of a sixteenth-century raid seems to have been copied accidentally or by mistake in that year. In 1263 "Meachair O'Ruadhain was killed by Foreigners, in treachery, in the door of the church of Cill-Seiscnen"[2] (L.C.).

In 1264 a quarrel occurred between Walter de Burgo and Maurice FitzMaurice, which is said to have arisen from a dispute about lands in Connaught. Maurice captured Richard de la Rochelle, the justiciary, Theobald Butler, John Cogan, and Walter de Burgo's eldest son, Richard, in a church at Castledermot, and confined them in the castles of Ley and Dunamase. Walter naturally seized all Maurice's Connaught lands. The quarrel was made up before June 1265. Though actual fighting between Burks and Geraldines is not

[1] Close by at anchor (A.Cl., F.M.).

[2] Kilsheshnan in Killasser parish.

recorded, it is evident that the quarrel gave the Irish chieftains an opportunity of attacking English settlers.

In 1264 the annalists call Walter by the title of Earl of Ulster for the first time. The grant of the earldom may therefore be assigned to this year.

In 1265 Aedh O'Conor and O'Donnell destroyed the castles of Sligo, Banada, and Rathardcraibe,[1] all FitzGerald castles. "A conference was held by Tomaltach O'Conchobhair, Archbishop of Connacht, with David Prendergast and the MacMurchadhas; and a great number of the archbishop's people were slain by them on that day at Cill-medhoin. . . . Murchadh MacSuibhne was apprehended by Domhnall, son of Maghnus, and surrendered into the hands of the Earl; and he died in the prison." (L.C.) MacMurchadhas is probably a mistake for MacMaurices, the Irish name of the Prendergasts of Mayo. Donnell of Erris was now loyal to the Earl. MacSuibhne was an Ulsterman. Felim O'Conor died in 1265, and was succeeded by his son Aedh, who prosecuted the war against the English with great energy. In 1266 the Irish attacked the English all round. The facts relating to Mayo are stated in a vague way.

"A great slaughter was committed by a party of O'Conchobhair's people, viz. by Lochlainn, son of Diarmaid, son of Muirchertach, and by MacCeithernaigh and the son of Domhnall Dubh O'hEghra, on the Britons and Lagenians of the west of Connacht, thirty-one of whose heads were presented to O'Conchobhair by them." "Domhnall O'hEghra, King of Luighne, *occisus est* whilst burning Ard-na-riadh against the Foreigners." (L.C.) The Britons are the Barretts and other Welshmen, the Lagenians are the Cusacks, Lawlesses, and other English settlers of Tirawley and Tireragh. This was avenged in the following year.

In 1267 "A great depredation was committed by the Foreigners of the west of Connacht on *the inhabitants of* Cairpre-Droma-cliabh; and they plundered Es-dara. Another great depredation was committed by MacWilliam Burk on O'Conchobhair, when he plundered Tir-Maine and Clann-Uadach." (L.C.)

1268. "Hugh O'Murray, chief of the Lagan, was slain at Killala by O'Mulfover, Coarb of the church, on a Sunday after hearing mass" (F.M.).

1269. "Flaherty O'Maelfhina, chief of half the territory of Calry of Moy-h-eleog, was slain by Gaughan, chief of the other half" (F.M.). The castle of Roscommon was built, and that of Sligo was rebuilt. The fighting was outside Mayo.

During the next two years the Irish gained some successes. 1270. "Sligo was burned by O'Domhnaill and the Cenel-Conaill, and the son of Breallach-an-chairn O'Maelbhrenainn was killed on this ex-

[1] Ardcree fort, in Annaghmore demesne, Kilvarnet parish, Co. Sligo.

pedition. A great war and dissension arose between O'Conchobhair, *i.e.* Aedh, son of Fedhlim, and Walter Burk, *i.e.* the Earl of Ulster; and neither the Foreigners nor the Gaeidhel could reconcile them. The Earl assembled the Foreigners of Erinn, together with the Justiciary, when they all went on a great hosting into Connacht, and proceeded to Ros-Comain the first night, and from thence to Oilfinn the second night, and from thence to Port-leice;[1] and they rested and encamped that night at Port-leice. And on the morrow they held a council, and the resolution they adopted was, viz., that the Earl and the chiefs of the Foreigners of Erinn should then go eastwards across the Sionainn at Ath-caradh-Conaill.[2] As regards the King of Connacht, however, *i.e.* Aedh, son of Fedhlim O'Conchobhair, he was in Magh Nisse before the Foreigners, with a few of the chiefs of his people; and the Justiciary, accompanied by a small number of the army, remained on the western side of the Sionainn, awaiting the Earl and his people. With regard to the Earl, after he had gone eastwards past Ath-caradh-Conaill a few of O'Conchobhair's people opposed them at Coillte-Conmaicne, where a small number of the army of the Foreigners were slain. Nevertheless, the Foreigners desisted not in the career and expedition in which they were engaged until they reached Magh Nissi, where they rested and encamped that night. As to the Foreigners, moreover, the advice they gave to the Earl was, to make peace with O'Conchobhair on this occasion, and to deliver his brother, *i.e.* William Og, son of Richard Mór, son of William the Conqueror, into the hands of O'Conchobhair's people whilst he (*O'Conchobhair*) should be in the Earl's house arranging *the peace.* And this was accordingly done. And after William Og had gone into O'Conchobhair's house, O'Conchobhair's people took him prisoner; and John Duilefin[3] and his son were slain on the spot. When the Earl, moreover, heard that treachery had been practised against his brother, he proceeded early on the morrow to Ath-an-chip[4] on the Sionainn. And O'Conchobhair was *during* these two nights *marching* round them, as a furious, raging, tearing lion goes about his enemies when killing them, so that he permitted them neither to eat, sleep, nor be at rest. O'Conchobhair moved on the same day. As regards the Foreigners, moreover, after going to the ford on the morrow, Toirdhelbhach O'Briain overtook them, and the Earl himself turned on him, and slew him without assistance from any other person. With regard to the Connachtmen, however, they came up with them (*the Foreigners*) at this time, when their rear was dislodged, and their van was routed. In short, their courage was confounded in this place, and nine of their principal

[1] Near Jamestown.
[2] Near Carrick on Shannon, according to O'Donovan.
[3] Dolphin.
[4] Near Carrick.

knights were slain on the spot, including Richard-na-Coille and John Butler; and it is not known how many more were lost there; and one hundred horses, with their mail coverings, and with their saddles, were left there; and William Og was killed in his captivity immediately after the son of O'Briain had been slain by the Earl. As regards Aedh O'Conchobhair's subsequent proceedings, he demolished the castle of Ath-Anghaile, and the castle of Sliabh-Lugha, and the castle of Cill-Calmáin, and burned Ros-Comáin, and Rinn-dúin, and Uille-Uanach. And a great war arose between Brian Ruadh O'Briain and the Foreigners, and great depredations were committed by him on them, and the castle of Clar-Atha-dha-charadh[1] was taken by him. Depredations were committed by the Earl, and by the Foreigners of Connacht, in Tir-Oilella, on the people of Aedh O'Conchobhair; and David Cuisin was slain on this foray." (L.C.)

The Irish success was obtained by an attack on the rear at the ford of the Shannon, as is clearly shown in the Annals of Clonmacnoise. When Torlogh O'Brien was killed at the ford, "The Conaughtmen pursued the Englishmen and made theere hindermost part to rune and breake upon their vaunt-guard or foremost, in such sort and foule discomfiture that in that Instant 9 of their chiefest were killed upon the bogg about Rickard ne Koylle and John Buttler, who were killed over and above the said Knights. It is unknowne how many were slaine in that Conflict, save onely that a 100 Horses with their sadles and other furnitures with a 100 shirts of maile were left after these things were thus done." The date of this fight was the 19th April. William Og is the ancestor of the MacWilliams of Mayo and Galway.

The facts seem to be that as soon as the Earl knew, by the treacherous seizure of his brother and the killing of the Dolphins, that Aedh had no intention of making peace, he rejoined Sir Robert Ufford, losing a few men and abandoning a large number of horses, in effecting the passage of the Shannon. The English we may suppose drove off all the cattle they could find in North Roscommon, and then, as usual, retired and dispersed their armies. Aedh then destroyed three border castles in Corran and Costello, and burnt the houses outside the king's castles in Southern Roscommon. But he could not venture far from the border. Walter de Burgo came again and chastised him by plundering Tirerrill.

Walter de Burgo died at Galway on the 28th July 1271. He married Evelina, daughter of John, son of John FitzGeoffrey, the Justiciary of Ireland. His eldest son, Richard, succeeded him. His other sons had no connection with Mayo.

As Richard was a minor the Lordship of Connaught and the Earldom of Ulster fell into the king's hand.

[1] Clare, in Co. Clare.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE TIME OF EARL RICHARD.

THE time of Walter de Burgo was peaceful in Mayo, save for border raids of no importance. The English settlement was far too strong for serious invasion of the more settled parts. The great FitzGerald manor of Sligo was not well occupied, nor was the eastern part of Tireragh, nor the Tyaquin country, nor the king's two southern cantreds, which were held by his castles. The fighting, when not entirely among the Irish themselves, was practically confined to these districts, in his time and in that of his son Richard, save for the short period of Bruce's war. For many years until the murder of Earl William, Mayo and most of Galway may be said to have enjoyed complete peace.

Richard and his cousin Sir William, who seems to have had control of Connaught affairs on his behalf, interfered in the O'Conor successions with decisive effect for the moment; but the family fighting and murdering broke out when the heavy de Burgo hand was not immediately felt.

The effect of these outbreaks on the border districts is shown in a remark in the inquisition taken in 1282 regarding the estates of Thomas FitzMaurice of Desmond, to the effect that his half Tuath of Kerry Lochnarney had been worth in time of peace 120 marks yearly, but then only 60 marks, because "the greater part is destroyed by the war of the Irish."

The position of O'Conor as a tenant of the king kept up his power of mischief and that of his family. Had de Burgo and FitzGerald been free to deal with him he would have been curbed by castles and garrisons, and Connaught would have been saved the misery of incessant savage warfare which almost never ceased among the Irish inhabitants of the unsettled districts, which would have ceased if the O'Conors had been kept quiet.

The death of Walter resulted in the turbulence which usually followed on any temporary dissolution of authority, to which may be attributed the events leading to the expulsion of the Clann Murtough from Mayo, and of the O'Flahertys from the barony of Clare.

In 1272 "Henry Butler, lord of Umhall, and Hoitse Mebhrick

were slain by Cathal, son of Conchobhair Ruadh, and by the sons of kings of Connacht" (L.C.). The tradition of Hosty Merrick survives in Glenhest, to which he left his name. He is said to have been buried at the church in Ballyteige townland, near Lough Beltra. The tradition is that he was a great pirate, who married an O'Malley, and was waylaid going to his own house and killed by his brother-in-law. Merricks owned land in Ballyteige in the sixteenth century.

In 1273 Jordan de Exeter killed some O'Conors and their adherents in Corann; Donnell of Erris, head of the Clan Murtough, was expelled from Umall and Erris; Ruaidhri O'Flaherty was expelled from West Connaught, which then meant the barony of Clare.

"Flann O'Tierney, Lord of Carra, was slain by the O'Murrays in a dispute concerning the lordship of Carra, and through the power of Hugh, son of Felim O'Conor" (F.M.).

1274. "Fergal O'Caithniadh, Lord of Erris, died in Hy Mac Caechain" (F.M.).

English settlers fought against each other in Tirawley, at Kilroe near Killala, in 1281. The Justiciary Rolls and the Annals of Loch Cé mention the battle, but not its immediate cause, which may have grown out of the claims of Adam Cusack and William Barrett of Bac and Glen to the land of Bredagh, under early de Burgo grants which gave rise to litigation in 1253.

Adam and William met at the head of their forces for a parley, during which a man shot an arrow at the other side, whereupon both parties fell on each other. William Barrett was taken prisoner, mortally wounded, and died in Cusack's prison. Adam Fleming, a partisan of Barrett, and several other Englishmen were killed. Taichlech O'Dowda and Taichlech O'Boyle fought with distinction on Cusack's side. The alliance was not permanent. Cusack killed T. O'Dowda at the Strand of Ballysadare next year.

The king took into his own hands the lands of W. Barrett and A. Fleming. Batin Barrett paid the king fines amounting to £163, 8s. 8d., Gilbert Lynet paid £33, 6s. 8d., and Adam Bretnath £3, 6s. 8d., whence we may infer that the Barrett faction was in the wrong.

In 1283 "The castle of Kilcolman [Costello] was thrown down by Cathal, son of Conor Roe, King of Connaught" (F.M.).

In 1285 "A great defeat was inflicted by Maghnus O'Conchobhair on Adam Cusack and the Foreigners of the west of Connacht, at Lec-Essa-dara, where a great many persons were slain, and where Colin Cusack, *i.e.* his (Adam's) brother, was taken into captivity after his people had been slain, in consideration of being allowed himself to depart" (L.C.).

Richard de Burgo is not mentioned in connection with the O'Conors

and their quarrels until 1286, but thereafter regulated the succession. Hence seems to have arisen the quarrel with John FitzThomas FitzGerald, afterwards Earl of Kildare, which had great consequences.

Sir Maurice FitzMaurice's estates were divided between his daughters Amabill and Juliana. When John FitzThomas became Baron of Offaley he acquired from Amabill her half-share. Thus his Connaught possessions were half of Carberry, including Sligo, a third of Corran, half of Conmaicne Cuile, half of Aidhne. From his father he inherited the Banada part of Leyny.

He began immediately to interfere in the O'Conor succession in Moy Ai, and so came into collision with the Earl. These confused proceedings appear in the Annals of Loch Cé, 1288–1293.

On the 6th December 1294 John seized the Earl and Sir William de Burgo and confined them in the castle of Ley, near Portarlington, until the 12th March 1295, when they were released by order of a Parliament, supported by an army under the Chancellor Thomas Cantok and others of the King's Council. The Earl agreed to a truce for two years, and gave two sons as hostages. Years passed before an agreement and settlement was made.

In March 1298 Sir John surrendered to the Earl at Athboy, to be imprisoned in Ulster at the Earl's pleasure, and delivered to the Earl for a time the castle of Ley. As soon as released he was to do homage to the Earl and bind himself and his heirs to serve the Earl and his heirs for ever, saving their fealty to the King of England. The Earl might marry one of his daughters to Sir John's son, or return him to Sir John unmarried before the new year, as might please him.

Sir John was to surrender to the Earl all his lands in Connaught, Ulster, and the county of Louth after valuation. Lands worth £120 a year were to be taken by the Earl as amends, and for the rest the Earl was to give Sir John lands of equal value in Leinster and Munster.

It does not appear where or how long John was imprisoned. As he did not appoint valuers to carry out the agreement for surrender and exchange of lands, the case was brought before the Justiciar's Court in March 1299, when John admitted his default.

It was agreed that his manors of Lough Mask, Dunmouhgherne (about Kilmainebeg), Kilcolgan, Sligo, Banada, and Fermanagh should be taken as the £120 a year assigned for amends, and the court appointed two officers on behalf of each side to supervise the valuation and hand over the other lands, with power to appoint valuers if either side failed to appoint. Thus the work was done.

Still Sir John made default. In 1301 he complained to the king that the valuers unfairly gave the Earl all John's lands and gave him

none. The king called for the record, but no further proceedings appear. Sir John certainly lost all his lands in those countries, and the Earl appears to have given up all his in Munster except Terryglass and Lorrha, the only possessions of Earl William in that province in 1333. The families seem to have been reconciled at last by the marriage of the Earl's daughter Joan to John's son Thomas in 1312.

The Earl's power was thus very much enhanced in Connaught, Ulster, and Louth by the removal of the FitzGerald influence, which, associated with that of the de Clares, had been very great, and by the acquisition of the valuable Connaught estates and Fermanagh. The acquisition of manors in Munster did not enhance Geraldine power in an equal degree.

In 1300 the Prendergasts and O'Flynns quarrelled. Conor O'Flynn slew John Prendergast.

The Earl and Sir William de Burgo joined the king in the Scottish war in 1303. For his good service in Scotland the king gave Sir William the custody of the Kerylochnarney lands of Thomas FitzMaurice of Desmond's heir until he should come of age, valued at 50 marks yearly.

In 1307 Sir William was Keeper of Ireland for half a year, during vacancy of the office of Justiciary.

In 1309 and 1310 he had to interfere in the O'Conor quarrels, and was for a long time in Moy Ai, originally called in by MacDermot to support the claim of Felim O'Conor to the succession. Though his irresistible force drove the rival away, he showed no anxiety to inaugurate Felim. MacDermot therefore did it himself. Sir William is said to have levied very heavy contributions; he had to raise the cost of the army himself. The Annals tell us many bare facts, but it is evident that there were many complications which they did not understand, or ignored.

Sir William played a considerable part in the wars of Thomond. When Richard de Burgo came of age he joined in supporting the claim of Brian Ruadh's son against Torlogh O'Brien. Brian Ruadh's daughter Finola was Sir William's wife. Later on Richard took up the cause of Torlogh, and Sir William appears in command of the de Burgo forces from Connaught. The quarrel now was in reality between de Burgos and de Clares, who desired to control the appointment of the King of Thomond. Thomas de Clare's marriage to Juliana secured him the Geraldine interest, and afterwards half of the estates of Maurice FitzMaurice. The de Clare power for the time was shattered when Thomas was killed in 1287 and the minority of his son threw all his estates into the king's hand. At the same time it was a check to Geraldine power, and may have led to John FitzThomas's attempt to control the appointment of kings of Con-

naught, which resulted in disaster to him. After Torlogh's death Richard de Clare took up the cause of the descendants of Brian Ruadh. Hence Sir William came into Thomond in 1310 and 1311 to support Torlogh's son Donough. In 1311 he defeated Richard de Clare with great loss near Bunratty, but was taken prisoner himself in the pursuit. On the other side two brothers of Dermot, who was supported by the de Clare party, were taken prisoner. Other contests ensued in which Sir William's Connaught forces took part, until the cause of the descendants of Brian Ruadh was lost in the battle of Dysert O'Dea in 1318, when Richard de Clare and his son Thomas were killed. Richard's heirs were his two sisters, who were married to two Englishmen. Thus the de Burgo power was assured in Thomond as in Moy Ai.

In 1315 Edward Bruce landed in Ulster, and was joined by many Irish chiefs, who accepted him as King of Erin. The Earl of Ulster collected a large Connaught force at Roscommon, including Felim O'Conor, the young King of Connaught, and marched by Athlone to meet Edward Bruce. While Edward and the Earl were watching each other across the Bann, Edward opened negotiations with Felim, and offered to give him "undivided power over Connacht, if he would steal away from the Earl to defend his own province. Fedhlim listened patiently to these words, and agreed with Edward on that occasion." (L.C.) But Ruaidhri, son of Cathal Ruadh, having come to Edward through Tirconnell, agreed with him to make war on the English but not on Felim. "This was not what Ruaidhri did, however; but he assembled the men of Connacht and Brefne, and numerous Gallowglasses along with them, and proceeded right into the middle of Sil-Muiredhaigh, and of Connacht likewise, and immediately burned the street-town of Sligech, and Ath-cliath-in-Chorainn, and the great castle of Cill-Colmain, and Baile-tobair-Brighde, and Dun-Iomdhain with its castles, and Ros-Comain, and Rinn-duin, and the town of Ath-Luain, together with all the houses that were in every route through which he passed." (L.C.) Of the Silmurray only MacDermot, Felim's foster-father, held out against him. He got himself inaugurated on Carnfree and awaited Felim, plundering those who did not submit. Felim had really refused Edward's offer. He did not leave the Earl until he heard of Ruaidhri's proceedings, and then wanted the Earl to return with him. On his way to Connaught he was so harassed by the Irish of the countries he passed through that he had to let his chiefs go home and submit to Ruaidhri until better times should come for him and MacDermot.

In the meantime Edward Bruce had defeated the Earl in the battle of Connor, taking Sir William de Burgo prisoner. The Earl retired to Connaught, where Felim and other chiefs dispossessed by Ruaidhri

met him. MacDermot made terms with Ruaidhri. Felim attacked O'Dowda and Dermot Gall MacDermot and other adherents of Ruaidhri. After a time MacDermot joined him again. In the course of this war Tir Enna and Tir Neachtain and Muinter Crechain and Moenmoy and Aughrim were plundered, as well as most of the county of Sligo. O'Donnell came as far as Castleconnell. The Earl himself was engaged in resistance to Edward Bruce, but Bermingham and other lords collected a force which defeated and killed Ruaidhri near Tochar mona Coinnedha, and restored Felim as king.

Thus by English power Felim was again king of the Irish of Connaught. As often happened before, he turned upon those who had made him king, with the usual results.

The Earl ransomed William de Burgo in the summer of 1316. Felim's proceedings at this time are thus described: "And he afterwards went to expel the Foreigners of the west of Connacht; and Baile-Atha-lethain was burned by him, and Stephen de Exeter, and Miles Cogan, and William Prendergast, and John Staunton were slain there (viz. these were noble knights); and William Laighleis was slain there, and a countless multitude along with them.[1] And the entire country was plundered and burned by him, from the castle of the Corran to Rodhba, both church and territory; and he returned home afterwards with gladness, and with great spoils. And they went forthwith to Milic-na-Sinda and demolished the castle of Milic; and Muirchertach O'Briain, king of Tuadh-Mumha, went into his house there, the descendants of Brian Ruadh being opposed to each other. And he turned back to Ros-Comain to demolish it. And when Felim heard that William Burk had arrived in Connacht from Alba, he commanded a muster of his people to one place, to expel him. And this was the muster that came there, viz. all from Es-Ruaidh to Echtghe. And Donnchadh O'Briain, king of Tuadh-Mumha, came in his following and muster; and O'Maelechlainn, king of Midhe; and O'Ruairc, king of Breifne; and O'Ferghail, king of Conmaicne; and Tadhg O'Cellaigh, king of Ui-Maine; and many more of the sons of kings and chieftains of Erinn, came in his muster. And they all went to Ath-na-righ, against William Burk, MacFeorais, and the other Foreigners of Connacht, and a battle was fought between them at the door of the town, and the Gaeidhel were defeated there, and Feidhlimidh O'Conchobhair, king of Connacht, and undisputed heir presumptive to the sovereignty of Erinn, was slain there, and Tadhg O'Cellaigh, king of Ui-Maine, and twenty persons entitled to the sovereignty of Ui-Maine, fell there along with him; and Maghnus, son of Domhnall O'Conchobhair, tanist of Connacht; and Art O'hEghra, king of Luighne; and Maelechlainn Carrach O'Dubhda;

[1] Grace adds, "some of the Barries."

and Muirchertach, son of Conchobhar O'Dubhda; and Diarmaid MacDiarmada, who was fit to be king of Magh-Luirg; and Muirchertach, son of Diarmaid, son of Ferghal; and Maelechlainn Og MacMaghnusa; and John, son of Murchadh O'Madadhain; and Domhnall, son of Aedh O'Concennainn, king of Ui-Diarmada; and his brother Muirchertach along with him; and Murchadh O'Madadhain; and Domhnall O'Baighill; and Donnchadh O'Maelmuaidh, together with his people; and the son of Murchadh MacMathghamhna, and one hundred of his people along with him; and Niall Sinnach, king of Feara-Tethbha, with his people; and Ferghal, son of John Gallda O'Ferghail; and William, son of Aedh Og O'Ferghail; and Thomas, son of Amhlaibh O'Ferghail; and five of the Clann-Donnchaidh were also slain there, viz. Tomaltach, son of Gilla-Christ MacDonnchaidh, and Murchadh MacDonnchaidh, and Conchobhar, son of Tadhg, and Muirchertach and Maelechlainn MacDonnchaidh. And John MacAedhagain, O'Conchobhair's brehon, and Gilla-na-naemh, son of Dalredochair O'Dobhailen, the standard bearer, and Thomas O'Conallan, were slain there around their lord. And not alone this; but it is not easy to tell all that were then slain of Momonians and Meathians, and of the men of Erinn likewise, *ut dixit* the poet:—

"'Many of the men of Erin all, around the great plain—
Many sons of kings, whom I name not, were slain in the great defeat:
Sorrowful to my heart is the conflict of the host of Midhe and Mumha.'

On the day of St. Lawrence the Martyr[1] these deeds were committed; and Fedhlimidh was twenty-three years old when slain; and he had been five years in the sovereignty of Connacht when Ruaidhri, son of Cathal Ruadh, assumed it in opposition to him during the space of half a year; and he was another half-year after Ruaidhri in the sovereignty until he was slain in this battle of Ath-na-righ. Ruaidhri-na-fedh, son of Donnchadh, son of Eoghan, son of Ruaidhri O'Conchbhair, was afterwards made king. A prodigious hosting by William Burk afterwards into Sil-Muiredhaigh, and O'Conchobhair and all Sil-Muiredhaigh made peace with him, except Mac Diarmada alone. He afterwards went into Magh-Luirg, and brought great preys with him from Ath-an-chip and from Uachtar-tire; and the entire country was burned and destroyed by them; and they went away without battle or conditions. Ruaidhri, son of Donnchadh, was subsequently deposed from the sovereignty by MacDiarmada, after having been a quarter and a half in it." (L.C).

Clyn notes that according to common rumour the whole number of slain was v . . . thousands, and that the number of heads cut off was 1500. The MS. erases the number of thousands except the v.

[1] 10th August.

The number slain was no doubt very great. It is said that the English archers shot down all before them, and this is probably the truth, as the loss seems to have been trifling on the English side, which would not have been the case if the Irish had been able to come to close quarters with the English.

It was the last effort of the Irish to drive the English out of Connaught, and the only case in which there was anything like a general alliance of Irish kings and chiefs against the English. It was the best opportunity they ever had. The Earl's Connaught forces had already suffered a serious defeat at Connor. Edward Bruce was defeating the English of the other provinces, and kept them employed. Yet so great was the effective force of the western colonists (for it seems to have been a purely Connaught force), and so superior their discipline and armament, that the Irish were ground to powder and could make no more effective resistance.

Richard Bermingham held the chief command, and was made Baron of Athenry for this victory, which relieved the English of anxiety on the Connaught side.

The lists of those who assembled and those who were slain are instructive. The names of O'Malley, O'Flaherty, O'Heyne, and O'Shaughnessy do not appear. Families of such high reputation among the Irish should have been mentioned if they had been present or if some of them had been slain. The inference is that if they were present they were in the English army. These families had been generally on the side of the de Burgos and in opposition to the O'Conors during the period of conquest. They had lived for many years in peace under the shelter of the de Burgo power, some separated by a wide extent of territory occupied by English settlers from those districts in which the Irish dwelt in their customary condition of strife and robbery. It was not their interest to revive those conditions. Though the O'Maddens and some of the O'Kellys lived in the de Burgo lordship, yet they were in immediate contact with, and may be said to have formed part of, the purely Irish districts, in which there were only garrisons and small towns. The battle seems to have been between the English and those Irish who lived under shelter of English law on one side, and the Irish who lived under their own ancient customs on the other.

MacDermot's refusal to make peace accounts for the entries in the A.L.C., 1317, that Meiler de Exeter, Lord of Athlethan, was slain near Drumcliff by O'Conors of Clan Murtough, and that Gilbert MacCostello killed a MacDermot, an O'Conor, and Manus O'Flanagan, with many others.

Save on Roscommon border, Mayo now had peace until the quarrels of the sons of Sir William broke out.

Sir William de Burgo, called by the Irish William Liath (Grey William), died on the 11th February 1323–4, and was buried in the church of the Dominican Friary of Athenry.

He played a great part in Ireland, and did good service in the wars in Scotland. He was the chief lord in Connaught, apparently wielding the Earl's power there, as the Earl was much occupied elsewhere. I cannot make out his exact position, but suppose him to have had very large estates, held directly from the chief lord, and as tenant of absentee barons who would find him a very satisfactory tenant, well able to hold his own. Whatever the exact relations were, he had land enough to enable him to take a very high position among the great barons, which he could not have attained only as his cousin's agent, and to leave his sons in such a position that they were able to establish a supremacy over the other settlers and to divide the settlement into two great lordships. His eldest son, Walter, took his place as one of the great lords of Ireland.

The great Earl Richard, the Red Earl, did not long survive. He attended the Parliament held at Kilkenny at Whitsuntide in 1326, "where he was somewhat crazed, and also came there all the nobility of the realm, to whom the said Earl made a great feast, and shortly after took his leave of them, and went to Athassell, where he departed this transitory life a little before midsummer, and there was buried" (Book of Howth).

Clyn calls him "a prudent knight, witty, rich, and wise." Certainly he was a man having abilities suited to his great position, not only greater than that of any other lord of Ireland, but greater than that of the king's justiciary. In a few years after he came of age he established his power over his Irish subjects and neighbours and secured peace generally for all his English subjects. His power strengthened the English law among the colonists of his lands, because, as the law was administered locally in almost all matters, his courts were effective. In his dominions he exercised the effective authority which the king should have exercised but did not exercise over all Ireland. The weakness of the country was due to the king's neglect, whereby he at last brought the colony to ruin. For it was now adopting Irish fashions rapidly. This would have been no harm if the king's authority had been upheld, and order, law, and justice made effective among the English colonists. That it was generally effective up to this period is evident from the calendars of State Papers, but unfortunately it was not made universally effective. Such offences of great men as John FitzThomas's arrest of the Earl Richard, Thomas de Clare's wars, the raids of the O'Conors and their murders were not punished by the king. Yet it is evident that the king could have got from the barons of Ireland

generally the support necessary to enable him to strike such offenders hard.

Under Edward II. the royal power grew weaker and weaker, owing to mere neglect, and was abandoned at last by his successor wherever it was resisted. At no time since the Conquest had the Irish been so thoroughly beaten down as at the death of Earl Richard. Strong royal power only was needed to keep the country together, and to carry on the progress which had been made towards civilisation of the Irish. For some certainly were adopting the civil life in the lands and towns of the settlers. By degrees those left outside such influences would have come under them when tribal wars were stopped.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM THE DEATH OF EARL RICHARD TO THE FALL OF THE KING'S GOVERNMENT IN CONNAUGHT.

RICHARD'S heir was his grandson William, born on the Sunday after the 14th September 1312, son of Sir John, who died at Galway on the 18th June 1313.

Richard's son Edmond and Sir William's son Walter were appointed Justices of the Peace or Governors in the counties of Connaught, Limerick, and Tipperary, to protect the estates of the Earl of Ulster in those counties, now in the king's hand by the minority of the heir. Edmond appears to have had large estates in Limerick and Tipperary, as his descendants were settled there.

William, called by the Irish the Brown Earl, was knighted at Pentecost in 1328 and put in possession of his estates. He came over to Ireland and to Connaught in September.

Walter de Burgo, now a knight, took the place of his father in Connaught as the leading baron, apparently in control of the Earl's power, but certainly wielding great power. In this year, 1328, Walter and Gilbert MacCostello held a conference with MacDermot and all his clan at Ath-cind-Locha-Techet, where high words passed and blows were exchanged, and Walter was defeated. This seems to have been in connection with O'Conor quarrels, for the Annals record that in the same year Walter plundered some of King Torlogh's friends. The disturbances went on in the following years.

In 1329 Walter de Burgo led a Connaught army into Munster against Maurice FitzThomas, who took up the cause of Brian O'Brien. The war seems to have ended in the arrest of the Earl of Ulster and of Maurice by the justiciary, Roger Utlagh. But early in the following year Earl William was high in the king's favour, and was made the king's lieutenant in Ireland in March 1331.

In 1330 Walter moved into Silmurray, when "A camp attack was made by Toirdhelbhach O'Conchobhair on Walter MacWilliam Burk, in Lecmagh[1] in Magh-Luirg, whom he drove from thence to Cairthi-liag-fada.[2] And Gilbert MacGoisdelbh, lord of Sliabh-Lugha, came

[1] Now Legvoy, near Carrick on Shannon, in Killukin. (O'Donovan.)

[2] O'Donovan suggests it is Cnoc-a-Cartha (Knockacorha) townland in Killukin parish, where a pillar stone (Cloghcrom) stands, S. of road from Frenchpark to Carrick, due E. of Cavetown, and close to road.

with a large force to the assistance of MacWilliam Burk, and Tomaltach MacDonnchaidh came with another force to the assistance of MacWilliam; and both these armies turned against O'Conchobhair until they reached Ath-Disert-Nuadan; and a few of O'Conchobhair's people were slain about the ford, . . . O'Conchobhair went afterwards actively, proudly, into the Tuatha; and MacWilliam fixed his camp that night at Cill-Lomad, in presence of O'Conchobhair. The armies of all Connacht, both Foreigners and Gaeidhel, were subsequently mustered by MacWilliam, with the object of seizing the sovereignty of Connacht for himself. A prudent, amicable peace was afterwards made by MacDiarmada and O'Conchobhair. . . . Toirdhelbhach O'Conchobhair was slain by the people of Walter MacWilliam Burk, whilst coming from the Earl's house." (L.C.)

This entry is the only ground for suspecting Walter of an attempt to make himself King of Connaught, that is of the part of Silmurray still left to O'Conor. It is not likely that he had such an intention. It is evident, however, that MacDermot and Torlogh made peace in fear of some action disastrous to them both, and that Torlogh went to appeal or submit to the Earl. But this Torlogh was not the king.

In 1331 Walter was again in Moylurg, apparently in these proceedings maintaining Tomaltach as MacDermot, and plundered and burnt all except the churches. But his proceedings were not approved by the Earl, and Walter rebelled. Of this affair we have but the annalist's entry—"The victory of Berna-in-Mil *was gained* over Tomaltach MacDiarmada, King of Magh-Luirg, and over MacWilliam Burk, by the Earl's son and Tomaltach MacDonnchaidh, in which a great number of MacWilliam Burk's people were slain" (L.C.). The Earl's son was probably Edmond. Two of Walter's brothers, Edmond and Reymond, were taken with him. The capture is said to have been on 5th November, perhaps the date of the battle. In February 1332 they were taken to Northburgh Castle, where Walter was starved to death. Clyn says they were taken to Knockfergus Castle. It is probable that they were taken there first; it was called also Northburgh Castle. The castle in Inishowen, called by the Irish the New Castle of Inishowen, is given as the place of his starvation by the L.C. Annals, and it also was by the English called Northburgh. It seems to be not the Green Castle, as supposed by O'Donovan, but one more to the south near the head of Lough Swilly.

This is the first instance of a de Burgo rising against a de Burgo. As Earl William was murdered in revenge for Walter, and as Edmond's murder was a further consequence, Walter's rebellion may be taken as the crisis of the fate of the English settlement. His action was a rebellion against the king and in disobedience of his own

chief lord, but what particular point was made a charge against him we know not. It is likely that his action against King Torlogh became open rebellion, and that Sir Edmond de Burgo was sent against him in support of Torlogh, who was acknowledged by the king as King of Connaught, and who had loyally come to help the Earl with Walter's Connaught army in the war against Brian Ban O'Brien and Maurice FitzThomas. However, after Walter's death this affair was closed as regards the king, for "Peace was proclaimed at Rath-Secher, to the sons of William Burk, on the part of the King of the Saxons," in 1333 (L.C.). In the same year "Gilbert MacGoisdelbh was slain in the middle of his own house by Cathal MacDiarmada Gall" (L.C.).

The murder of Earl William in 1333 is variously described. As John Clyn was nearly a contemporary, and must have met those who were well acquainted with the fact, his concise account may be taken as accurate:—

"On the 6th July William de Burgo, Earl of Ulster and Lord of Connaught, is treacherously killed by his esquires (in whom he confided) near Knockfergus. The perpetrators of this crime were John de Logan, Robert son of Richard Mandevyle, Robert son of Martin Mandevyle, who, however, got but short and momentary comfort from this; for joining themselves with the Irish (who are always used to be friendly receivers and defenders of the persecutors of the English and loyal people) 300 and more of them are within two months in one day killed by John de Mandevyle and a few people of the country. It was said that this wickedness was, as usual, brought about by a woman, that is Gyle de Burgo, wife of Lord Richard de Mandevyle; because he had imprisoned her brother Walter de Burgo and others. This Earl was very clever, a lover of the state and of peace, leaving an only daughter one year old."

He was murdered on a Sunday on his way to Mass at the lowest ford in the Lagan at Belfast (Dr. Reeves).

Clyn seems to be in error like others in saying he left only one daughter. The Patent Rolls in 1338 mention his daughter Isabella as a ward, and in 1340 mention the grant of the marriage of his daughter and heir Margaret. I infer that these two ladies were twins, born after the date of the inquisitions taken in 1333, and that they died young, leaving Elizabeth as sole heiress. In 1352 she was married to Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and had a daughter Philippa who married Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. Her son Roger Mortimer left a daughter Anne who married Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge, father of Richard, Duke of York, father of Edward IV. Thus the Earldom of Ulster and the Lordship of Connaught came to be annexed to the Crown.

The custody of the late Earl's Connaught castles and lands was given to Queen Philippa. On the 5th September 1333 Sir Edmond, Earl Richard's son, got a grant of the Connaught possessions during the minority at a rent of £200 yearly. He and Maelseachlainn Mac Aedha, Archbishop of Tuam, were appointed jointly Justices of the Peace for Connaught. This Edmond for the time became practically chief lord of Connaught, and not having great possessions elsewhere, was able to attend to his own interests. He soon met with opposition. The events are recorded in a very confused way, but it is apparent that Edmond Albanagh, who succeeded to the position of his brother, was fighting with Edmond the Earl's son and with the Clan-Ricard Burk. The term Clann Ricaird I take to apply here to the descendants of Richard the first lord of Connaught's son Walter, who had estates in Galway. It cannot be said for certain, but I suspect that Sir Edmond Albanagh's resistance of Sir Edmond encouraged the Irish chieftains to resist Sir Edmond and to attack the English.

1335. "John, son of Art O'hEghra, was taken prisoner by the Earl's son;[1] and the principal part of his people was plundered by him. A depredation *was committed* by the sons of Domhnall O'Conchobhair[2] on the descendants of Maurice Sugach[3] FitzGerald, on which occasion the son of MacMaurice was killed. A retaliatory depredation was afterwards committed by the Clann-Maurice on the same sons of Domhnall. The West of Connacht was all destroyed by Edmond Burk; a great many persons were slain and innumerable depredations and burnings, and injuries were also committed by him on the Earl's son, and on the Clan-Rickard Burk in the same year; but they afterwards made peace with one another. Great snow in the spring, which destroyed the greater number of the small birds of all Erinn." (L.C.)

This war appears to have been ostensibly a war between Sir Edmond and O'Conor. The close Rolls of Edward III. show that in June 1335 a friar was paid for going twice from Dublin to treat with O'Conor of Connaught, and in October another was paid for going to treat with O'Conor and with Edmond, son of Richard, late Earl of Ulster. The effective force which made O'Conor dangerous was that of the English who were under Sir Edmond Albanagh. From subsequent dealings it is safe to infer that the king did not wish to recognise the fact that an English baron was in rebellion.

Though matters were arranged between the Edmonds, there was fighting in the border districts and in Roscommon, which is told as follows in the A.L.C. under the year 1336. The sons of Dermot

[1] Sir Edmond. [2] Of race of Brian Luignech probably.
[3] Son of Gerald Prendergast.

Gall, who held Airtech, and Felim O'Conor raided MacCostello. Maiduke, son of Waltrin MacCostello, was killed in following them. Edmond Albanagh plundered the O'Flanagan country and killed an O'Flanagan, but a brother of Mac in Mhilidh was taken prisoner. MacDermot and some O'Conors of Moy Ai and of Carbury made a small raid into Tireragh. King Torlogh O'Conor mustered his forces and broke down Castlemore when MacCostello was absent.

In 1337 King Torlogh formed a fortified camp at Ath-Liag against Edmond. The result seems to be told in the following entry. O'Kelly was a consistent ally of Sir Edmond Albanagh. "A great victory over Toirdhelbhach O'Conchobhair, King of Connacht, by Clann-Cellaigh; and Toirdhelbhach himself was wounded there, and taken prisoner; and his horse and clothes were left there by him, together with a great slaughter of people" (L.C.).

"Domhnall Ruadh O'Maille and Cormac O'Maille were slain by the Clann-Mebhric, and by other Foreigners along with them, on the night of St. Stephen's festival" (L.C.). Cormac was Donnell's son.

In 1338 occurred the event which showed to all men the feebleness of the king's government and led to open disregard of his authority, not in Connaught and Ulster only but all over Ireland. Hitherto it might be thought that the king tolerated the private wars from unwillingness to put forth his strength.

The murder of Sir Edmond was a criterion of his power. The condonation of the murder was an act which could not be attributed to any cause but the true one—inability to punish it.

This very important act, the seizure of Sir Edmond, does not seem to have been the result of a conspiracy, but a sudden act brought about by the opportunity, without very clear forecast of the consequences. The affair is obscure. The more detailed account given by Roderick O'Flaherty is probably correct, and agrees in substance with the short note of the Irish chronicle:—

"Edmond Burk, *i.e.* the son of the Earl of Ulster, was taken prisoner by Edmond Burk; and a stone was tied round his neck, and he was afterwards thrown into Loch-Mesca; and the destruction of the Foreigners of Connacht, and of his own family, occurred through this. And Toirdhelbhach O'Conchobhair assumed the sway of Connacht after that, and Edmond MacWilliam Burk was expelled out of Connacht; and the territories and churches of all the West of Connacht were spoiled. And Edmond Burk collected a large fleet of ships and barks, [and] remained on the islands of the sea for a long time. Luighne and the Corann were depopulated and wasted, and the sovereignty was assumed by their own hereditary Gaeidhel, after the expulsion of the Foreigners out of them." (L.C.)

O'Flaherty's account is as follows: "During whose nonage, Edmond was joyned in commission with Malachias, Arch-Bishoppe of Tuam, for the government of Connaught; until he was seized upon by Sir William Bourk, afore-mentioned, his sons, on Low Sunday, the 19th Aprill, in the Fryer's house of Balinrobe; Roger de Flet, Seneschall of Connaught, and Nicholas Lienot, and other nobles of his company, being killed on the place. He was that night carried to Lough Measg Castle, the next night to Ballyndeonagh Castle, and the third night to that island on Lough Measg; whither the Arch-Bishope of Tuam came to bring him and his kinsmen to a reconciliation: and as they were on points of agreements, the villains who had the custody of his body, a certain family of the Stantons, dispairing their own safety if he were set at liberty, miserably turned him into a bag, and cast him out of the island into the lake, with stones tied to the bag; for which fact they were called *Clan Ulcin* ever since. Of this Edmond and his wife Slany, daughter of Tordellvac O'Bryan, L. of Tuomond, lineally descended the lords of Castleconnell and Bretas, with the rest of the county of Limerick Burks." ("Iar Connaught," p. 47.)

If he was so drowned, and there is no reason to doubt it, the body seems to have been recovered and buried, as a small mound under a small thorn tree is pointed out as the Earl's grave, in Earl's Island near Glentraigue. That remote mountain region was a good place to take him away from chance of a rescue until Edmond Albanagh could assemble his forces. The action of the Stauntons was decisive, and brought all parties face to face with a new situation.

All Connaught must have been startled. Sir Edmond was evidently well frightened by what he had brought on himself, and at once put himself out of reach on the islands. None of the barons would at first be very ready to support him or receive him even, not knowing how the king would take it. The had not to wait long. The fact must have been known to the king in a few weeks. And on August 12, 1338, the king made a "Grant to Edmund de Burgh, and Reymund, his brother, of sufferance for two years in respect of their adherence to certain opponents and rebels against the king in Ireland in the past, inasmuch as laudable testimony is now given as to their bearing towards him and his people there for some time." (Cal. Pat. Rolls Edw. III., vol. iv.)

The matter was finally settled by the following on the 14th March 1340: "Pardon, for their good service in Ireland, to Edmund, son of William de Burgh, knight, and Reymund de Burgh, his brother, of the king's suit against them, for the death of Edmund, son of Richard de Burgh, late Earl of Ulster, and Richard de Flete, and for all other felonies and trespasses whatsoever, and of any conse-

quent outlawries; his suit for the death of William, late Earl of Ulster, and John de Scolton excepted." (Ibid.)

Reymund must have had a full pardon or protection, as we find an order dated 10th April 1340 for payment of £100 to Reymund, son of William de Burgh, the king's yeoman, charged to array and make ready a certain number of men-at-arms and hobelers for the king's service in France, and to provide ships and to pay them from date of embarkation. He did go to France, and sold thirteen horses to the king for £80 in the following October. It is probable that he and Edmond had no part in the murder of Earl William, and that the charge was kept against them in case of evidence turning up.

This pardon for an undoubted murder must be taken as the king's acknowledgment of the independence of Edmond Albanagh, of his abandonment of the government of Connaught.

In this year, 1340, the castle of Roscommon fell into the hands of King Torlogh O'Conor. Traces of local acknowledgment of royal authority occur a little later, and the towns of Athenry and Galway kept up their connection with the king, but practically all administration ceased.

According to the A.L.C., Edmond was driven to Ulster with his fleet in 1339. That he was driven away is certainly not the case, for he returned and immediately appears in full possession of power in Mayo and Galway. To go to Ulster by sea was his safest course, as he could not be sure of safety from arrest if he went by land, without a very large escort, as the charge of murder was hanging over him. We do not know, but may suppose, that his object was to arrange with the Ulster Irish chiefs that they also should ignore the king's authority and secure their own independence. At this time O'Donnell was the most powerful of the Ulster Irish. O'Neill had been reduced by neighbourhood of the Ulster colony and by the formation of some demesnes in the country of the Cinel Eoghain; for instance, Inishowen was occupied by the New Castle, and there are references to other possessions of the earl in Cinel Eoghain. Edmond succeeded, if that was his object. This much is certain, that the Irish of Ulster in future practically ignored the countess's claims, and that both Irish and English tenants in Connaught followed the same course by degrees, the claims of the great absentee barons within the countries known as the MacWilliam territories being similarly ignored, saving the right of the Earl of Ormond to North Umall and to Aughrim, which was acknowledged in the sixteenth century and continued into the nineteenth. The pardon of 1340 I take to be a result and recognition of the attitude of the principal English barons.

Thus ended the first period of English government in Mayo.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DE BURGO FAMILY IN CONNAUGHT AND THEIR IRISH NEIGHBOURS.

As the history of the county from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century turns much on the growth of the Bourkes, the ramifications of the family must be kept in mind.

The first settler in Ireland was William de Burgo, called by the Irish William Conquer, who was a brother of Hubert de Burgo, afterwards the great Earl of Kent. William married a daughter of Donnell Mor O'Brien, King of Thomond. Her sisters married Cathal Crobderg O'Conor and Donnell Mor O'Kelly, King of Hy Many. The de Burgos were generally on very good terms with the O'Briens and O'Kellys.

William left three sons, Richard, William, and Hubert, who was Abbot of Athassel and afterwards Bishop of Limerick. Richard became Lord of Connaught, excepting the King's Five Cantreds. William was Sheriff of Connaught. He had estates in Munster, as might be expected, and there is evidence that he had property near Donamon, which seems to have been the part of the barony of Ballymoe which was not included in the ancient territory of Clanconway. From his son Richard's son Walter came MacWalter of Tuath MacWalter. But his son William's son David acquired the manor of Donamon or Clanconway from the heirs of William de Oddingeseles, whereby the MacDavids became chiefs of their branch in Connaught.

The next generation gave off the branch which became the greatest family of Connaught, the Clann William of Mayo and Galway, descended from Richard's third son William. As sons of Walter and William grew up, the Irish distinguished them by tribal names. Clanricard seems to have been used for the main line until the close of the fourteenth century, when the term was transferred and confined to the descendants of Richard Og, the first who bore the title of MacWilliam of Clanricard, or Upper MacWilliam. Clann William Burk became the tribe name of William Og's descendants in Connaught. But it was used also of the descendants of Earl Richard and of William the Sheriff in

Munster. It was also used when necessary to denote all the descendants of William Conquer.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century there were four great groups of de Burgos:—

1. Earl Richard and his descendants.
2. Descendants of Sheriff William, called Clanwilliam in Munster, and afterwards Clan Sir David in Connaught.
3. Those of Earl Walter in Galway, called Clanricard.
4. Those of William Og, called Clan William in Connaught. Rann MacWilliam was the term applied in the sixteenth century to the Bourkes of the Co. Mayo.

THE IRISH CHIEFS BORDERING ON THE ENGLISH.

The O'Conors of Sligo.

Brian Luighnech's descendants lived in quiet subjection under their English lords, their chief dwelling at Castletown under Benbulben. Thus they found themselves in possession of the barony of Carbury and of the great castle of Sligo, which had been held only by a garrison and the small town about it. Sir Edmund's position obliged him to abandon all such territories as were not well colonised. Clann Andrias appears suddenly as a family of the first rank in power among the Irish of Connaught, and by degrees acquired a supremacy over the territories which were for that reason included in the county of Sligo. Their power on the whole tended to increase until, in the sixteenth century, O'Donnell pressed them hard on the north and revived the ancient claim of the Cinel Conaill to Carbury.

After the death of Donnell in 1395, their chief used the title MacDomhnaill Mhic Muircheartaigh, until in 1536 Tadhg Og assumed that of O'Conchobhair, being then the strongest of the three O'Conors of Connaught.

Donnell's sons were ancestors of four families who divided Carbury into four hereditary estates, and quarrelled among themselves and with the descendants of Cathal Og. These quarrels brought the two MacWilliams and other lords into action from time to time.

The O'Dowdas.

O'Dowda was living quietly in Tireragh, and at once got possession of the eastern half. In 1371 he got possession of Castleconor and Ardnarea. It is not certain that he retained Castleconor at this time; if not now, he certainly acquired it later on. But Ardnarea

was recovered immediately, and remained Bourke property until the seventeenth century. O'Dowda was always under the Sligo O'Conors.

The O'Haras.

The O'Haras appear at once in possession of all Leyny, but in two independent chiefries. O'Hara Boy had castles at Templehouse, Coolany, Tullyhugh, Annaghmore, Meemlough, the north-eastern half; O'Hara Reagh's castles were at Balliara near Tubbercurry, Belaclare (now Aclare), Cashelcarragh, and the Island of Lough Talt. These castles came into existence by degrees. The ancient FitzGerald castle of Banada is said to have been converted into the monastery.

The O'Garas.

This family retained Coolavin, which was too small and poor to give them a position of strength.

The MacDonoghs.

The MacDonoghs descended from Donnchadh, who died in 1232, a son of Tomaltach MacDermot, King of Moylurg. MacDonogh appears as MacDermot's sub-chief in possession of Tirerrill as his inheritance. Immediately after 1338 another MacDonogh appears as Lord of Corran. I suspect that this MacDermot got into possession under the de Burgos, as fighting for Corran is not recorded in the Annals. The MacDonoghs seem to have put themselves at once in alliance with the O'Conors of Sligo, a natural course in order to relieve themselves of a more real subjection to their tribal lord MacDermot. Ballymote Castle, being only a garrison, fell naturally into MacDonogh's hands. The MacDonogh lordship was one for a long time, to the extent that one was considered to be the chief, though both used the title.

The MacDermots.

MacDermot lost Tirerrill about this time, but gained Airtech by the submission of MacDermot Gall. Another branch of the family was established in course of time in Tirtuathail with the title MacDermot Roe, but it was not powerful. MacDermot was always the most powerful of the Silmurray chieftains. He took up the cause of O'Conor Roe.

The O'Conors and the Silmurray.

The partition of 1236 drove the principal O'Conors, save Clan Andrias, Clan Murtough Mweenagh, and Clan Manus, into the King's

Cantreds, where they were further penned up in Moy Ai by the king's assumption of direct management of those of Tirmany and Omany after 1249. The old chiefs of the Silmurray and of the Three Tuaths lost importance as the royal family settled among and over them. O'Conor now got the sovereignty of Roscommon County north of the baronies of Athlone and Ballymoe. Ballintubber Castle had been let decay, and fell into his hands at once. Roscommon was soon taken. The family quarrels weakened the O'Conors steadily until the sovereign title was extinguished in the sixteenth century.

The O'Kellys.

The O'Kellys, who seem to have been always in possession of all or nearly all Tiaquin barony, now appear in possession of those of Athlone, Killian, Kilconnell, Clonmacnowen, and Moycarne. O'Murray, O'Fallon, and O'Concannon were among them. They must be supposed to have come into possession first as tenants of the absentee English lords, for these territories were let out entirely to absentees by the king. Sir Richard de Exeter formed a large estate about Athleague, and built a castle there, but neither he nor his son or grandson lived there; they were officials. The Butler estate was held by a castle at Aughrim. There was no considerable settlement of English nor any resident English lord. The O'Kellys were the best tenants that could be found in the circumstances. All the important O'Kelly families who inhabited the last five baronies descended from Donnell Mor, the King of Hy Many who died in 1224.

Thus O'Kelly found himself in a very strong position in 1338. He was usually in close alliance with the Lower MacWilliam.

The O'Maddens.

O'Madden had been a faithful adherent of the de Burgo lord, and had been a great tenant under him. His position now became one of independence, but following the tradition of his family, he remained on terms of close friendship with the Burkes, which secured the Silanmchadha against the revival of ancient claims of sovereignty by the King of the Hy Many.

O'Shaughnessy and O'Heyne had considerable estates in the barony of Kiltartan, which originated in the time of the FitzGerald lordship. As the few settlers in Ardrahan and other places disappeared, these families took their places. But they had no independence, and were included in Clanricard.

The O'Flahertys.

O'Flaherty seems to have been a tenant in chief of de Burgo. This fact and the wildness of his country gave him complete independence. The rise of English power and the weakening of the Lower MacWilliam in the sixteenth century gave the O'Flahertys more importance than they had during the preceding period.

By some unexplained transaction in the third quarter of the century, the barony of Ross was put under O'Flaherty. It was probably that by which he acquired the castle and lands of Ross as an eric from the Bourkes.

CHAPTER XVII.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MACWILLIAMSHIP.

EDWARD II.'s feeble government let Ireland get out of hand, and in consequence the great lords were fighting among themselves. The young Earl of Ulster helped the justiciary to regain control under the new government. The general disregard of the king's authority led Sir Walter Bourke to treat his own lord with like contempt, with disastrous results to himself. The Earl's treatment of Sir Walter taught his other subjects the difference between the King and the Earl, and secured peace in his dominions until his death.

The Earl's death was followed by the vesting of his power in the king's hands by right of wardship, and its disappearance. His uncle, Sir Edmond, had but limited power. Factions arose, and war broke out in 1335. The cause of quarrel does not appear, but Clanricard sided with Sir Edmond against Sir Edmond Albanagh. We may suspect, rather than infer from known facts, that Sir Edmond Albanagh and Clanwilliam resisted the lawful rights of the Crown. The only indication is the fact that Sir Edmond Albanagh destroyed West Connaught. Sir Walter, as eldest son of Sir William, should have succeeded to the bulk of his estates according to the law and custom of the time. Where they lay is not clear, but Sir Walter is described as of the diocese of Annaghdown. It is likely that the Earl tried Sir Walter in his court, and forfeited his estates before starving him to death. Thus the war is likely to have arisen over the possession of Sir Walter's estates in the barony of Clare; or regarding the wardship of his daughters, if they were under age.

The murder of Sir Edmond forced a clearing up of the position. The king did not punish it, treating it as matter for compromise, and neglecting to maintain the rights of the Earl's daughters, his wards. The great absentee lords of estates within the lordship of Connaught were too busy fighting with each other to spend their forces in attempts to subdue Connaught. Thus all Ireland realised the truth that Clann William Burke and their allies and the Irish chiefs could hold their own.

All the settlers were not on Clann William's side. Clann Maurice

and Clann Fheorais and Clann Ricaird opposed them at first. From 1342 onwards the supremacy of Clann William was acknowledged in the person of Sir Edmond Albanagh. The great English lords who held directly from the lord of Connaught divided their allegiance between the two MacWilliams, and in course of time paid rent and military service to the MacWilliams in several cases. In the division the Mayo lords went with MacWilliam Eighter, except Prendergast; the de Berminghams and all the Galway lords went with MacWilliam Oughter. The great Irish lords like O'Kelly, O'Madden, the MacDermots, MacDonoghs, and O'Conors became really independent, but O'Heyne, O'Shaughnessy, and O'Malley became dependents of the Burkes.

MacDavid had not been included in the lordship of Connaught in respect of Clanconway, and consequently claimed independence in 1576, but in fact did pay head rent to the Earl of Clanricard.

The garrisons of castles in Corran, Leyny, Tireragh, and Carbury seem to have been withdrawn, save that the Bourkes for a long time held Ardnarea and Castleconor and the lands along the Moy. The O'Haras became lords of Leyny, O'Gara lord of Coolavin; MacDonogh took possession of Corran, if he was not already in possession as tenant; MacDermot Gall remained in Airteach, and O'Flynn in Sil-Maelruain. The O'Conors seized the rest of the de Burgo possessions in Roscommon.

The O'Kellys seem to have been always in possession of nearly all the barony of Tiaquin, and they occupied as tenants of absentee English owners the parts of the cantreds of Tirmany and Omany not occupied by O'Murrays and O'Fallons. The Annals do not show grounds for supposing that the castles were taken by force, except Roscommon. The English townsmen and farmers had to abandon town and country as soon as the conditions necessary for the continuance of civil life disappeared, or else they sank into the mass of Irish population. Aughrim Castle was longer in English occupation, but was at last made over to the O'Kellys by the Earl of Ormond. There was no occasion for fighting, as the absentees did not attempt to recover possession.

Histories usually tell us that the king lost Connaught because Edmond and Ulick rebelled, renounced English law and dress and adopted Irish customs and dress, and seized the estates of the Countess of Ulster, which they divided. This seems to be a confusion with the action of Ulick and John, sons of the Earl of Clanricard, who broke their parole in 1577. The records show no sign of rebellion against the king. The king's pardon in 1340 shows that Sir Edmond was not held to be in rebellion, possibly because the king found it inconvenient to call him a rebel. His action legally affected

the lordship of Connaught, not the sovereignty. But he was in fact a rebel against the king and his law. He and his descendants, the MacWilliams, were always ready to acknowledge the king's supremacy, but what they had they kept, and the acceptance of their submissions served only to acknowledge their possessions.

No contemporary authority refers to a formal adoption of Irish customs and renunciation of English law. The change was gradual and of necessity, and was complete in Mayo at the close of the fourteenth century. But the succession to the MacWilliamship of Clanricard followed the law of primogeniture until the beginning of the sixteenth century. The court of the king and the court of the Lady of Connaught could not work, as no force was behind them after 1340. They were withdrawn.

An attitude of rebellion is inconsistent with the pardon of 1340, and with the king's letter of 1344 asking Edmond de Burgo to bring twenty men-at-arms and fifty hobelers, and with his letter of 1347 asking Edmond and his brother Reymond to bring ten men-at-arms and sixty hobelers for the war against the King of France.

From time to time the king tried to assert himself in Connaught. Ulick of Clanricard rebelled in 1388. In 1390 the Bishop of Clonmacnoise and T. Hill held a sessions at Ballinrobe as justices in Connaught. This is probably the circuit referred to by the bishop, who reported to the Council that the sheriff, Lord Athenry, refused him an escort, that he had to pay £10 in silver to O'Kelly's son for an escort, that he had to live at his own expense, besides the refreshment that Thomas Bourke gave him, for more than half a year. The Council allowed him ten marks. Hence it seems that he was in Connaught only upon sufferance. Thomas was made Justice of the Peace and knighted at the close of his life.

In 1403 William, or Ulick, of Clanricard, being then senior MacWilliam, was made deputy for Connaught, and empowered to receive for the king the customs, &c. during the minority of Edmund, Earl of March. Thus, by abstaining from treating the MacWilliams as rebels, the king kept up the form of supremacy until the lordship of Connaught merged in the Crown in the person of Edward IV.

It is clear that Edmond and Ulick did not at once divide Connaught. Edmond and Clan William beat down resistance in 1342. Clanricard rose again in 1349 in support of Richard, son of Sir Edmond the Earl's son, and suffered serious defeat by Edmond Albanagh and Bermingham. In 1355 the English of West Connaught defeated Edmond, and Richard Og defeated him. In 1366 Clan Ricard took up the cause of Clan Maurice, who were driven out by Edmond, who brought a great force into Upper Connaught, spent three months there, and thoroughly subdued Clan Ricard, who gave him hostages.

Sir Edmond constantly fought for and maintained supremacy over the English settlers. He and his son Thomas are alone allowed the title "MacWilliam" in the Annals of Loch Cé. In the Annals of Clonmacnoise, in the year 1380, Thomas and Richard Og are called MacWilliam Inferior and Superior. In 1386 the Annals of Loch Cé allow to Richard Og the title "MacWilliam of Clanricard." Two MacWilliams were created on the death of Sir Thomas in 1401; but Walter admitted the superiority of Ulick of Clanricard as the senior. In 1508 the union of churches with the wardenship of Galway was confirmed by Theobald Bourke, as chief of his nation, being then senior of the two MacWilliams.

The lordship of MacWilliam seems to have been truly one as long as Edmond Albanagh lived, and to have been ostensibly one up to the death of Thomas.

Sir Edmond's claims rose as his position became stronger. They seem at first to have gone no higher than something in the nature of claim to succession, and to have grown into a claim of superior lordship over the English of Connaught, which he made good.

The Bourkes and the other great barons of Connaught were still Anglo-Normans by education, and so were their descendants in a lessening degree until they became fully hibernicised, as appears from the history of the Bourkes and of their O'Conor, O'Kelly, MacDermot, and O'Brien neighbours. The former kept as much as they could to themselves, fighting only to suppress rebellion or to help their allies—that is, to preserve the balance of power in Connaught—and abstained from raids having no object but plunder, and succeeded each other in the lordship peaceably according to rule of succession; which was, among the Lower Bourkes from the fourteenth century, that the eldest surviving son of a MacWilliam should succeed, and among the Upper Bourkes until the sixteenth century the rule of primogeniture.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century they were so thoroughly hibernicised that they fought for the succession like their neighbours.

The establishment of the MacWilliamship and of the palatine jurisdictions of Ormond and Desmond coincide in time and were similar in results, namely, the disappearance of the authority of the king's courts and the general adoption of Irish customs, with the consequent absence of administration of law and steady impoverishment of the people. In the former case the king's courts were set aside by force; in the latter he covered his weakness by granting his jurisdiction to the great lords. He gave Ormond and Desmond what MacWilliam took.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FIRST MACWILLIAMS.

EDMOND I., 1340–1375.

THE MacWilliamship may be most conveniently dated as commencing with this year, because it had then become apparent that Sir Edmond need not fear that the royal power would interfere with his plans. All the Anglo-Norman lords in Mayo seem to have accepted his supremacy, which may be considered as a continuation of the power which his brother and his father had wielded under the authority of the chief lord, except the Clan Maurice. This family did not submit without fighting, and carried down to the sixteenth century the memory of this contest, for they then asserted that by right their allegiance was due to the Earl of Clanricard.

How the quarrel broke out does not appear, but it is not unlikely that they sided against Sir Edmond in some more general quarrel, such as that of the O'Conors in the following year. All that is known is in the following notice: "A great defeat was inflicted by MacWilliam Burk on the Clann-Maurice, on which occasion Thomas MacMaurice, and Maurice son of Seonac Ruadh, and seven score persons along with them, were slain" (L.C., 1341).

During this century and for some time longer Connaught politics were much affected by the rivalry between the descendants of King Felim, who was slain at the battle of Athenry, and his brother, King Torlogh, and his descendants, who from this time forth were almost always fighting for the kingship, which they divided in 1385, without securing permanent peace. Four strong factions of O'Conors were now divided into two parties—that of King Torlogh, ancestor of O'Conor Donn, who was supported by the Clann Andrias of Sligo; and that of Aedh, son of Felim and nephew of Torlogh, ancestor of O'Conor Roe, who was supported by the Clann Murtough Mweenagh, which was now settled in Brefne, but afterwards quarrelled with O'Rourk and disappeared in the fifteenth century.

Torlogh's party was supported by MacDonogh and MacDavid, and often by Clanricard.

Aedh's party was supported by MacDermot and by Edmond

Albanagh and the Lower MacWilliams, and generally by O'Kelly. Aedh's wife was a daughter of Walter Burk.

This array lasted in a general way for many years, and was mainly the source of the political relations of the great powers of Connaught. Walter Burk began the quarrel with Torlogh which Edmond carried on.

The war broke out in 1342. In the course of it "An ugly act of treachery was committed on the Clann-William-Burk at the instigation of O'Conchobhair, when Thomas Burk was slain by the Clann-Maurice while in their own assembly;[1] and Seonin Burk was slain in the same way by the Clann-Rickard" (L.C.). The result of much fighting in the O'Conor country was that Torlogh was deposed by the Silmurray and MacWilliam, who made Aedh, son of Aedh Breifnech, king on the first Monday of winter, and made Felim's son Aedh the Tanist.

This result was reversed in 1343. Torlogh returned, resumed the sovereignty, and passed it on to his son Aedh at his death in 1345.

In 1348 Edmond drove out the de Berminghams, who repaired to O'Conor. But they must have submitted, as they helped Sir Edmond when Richard, son of Edmond, son of the Earl of Ulster, invaded Connaught in the south, assisted by the Clanricard. Sir Edmond took Richard prisoner and killed some of his Burke allies. Richard died of the plague in the same year.

In 1355 Richard Og, who was afterwards the first called MacWilliam of Clanricard, comes into action in a quarrel with the O'Maddens, who were helped by Sir Edmond, whose household was defeated in a battle in which Stephen MacJordan, Henry MacPhilpin, and sixteen O'Maddens were slain. Sir Edmond and Cathal Og burnt Tuam. This was but a temporary alliance, if Cathal Og was the Sligo O'Conor who in 1360 invaded Tirawley and destroyed many houses and churches. Cathal Og's raid was well punished in the following year, when Sir Edmond and Bermingham brought up an army which wasted Leyny and Tireragh.

In 1366 Sir Edmond again came into conflict with the Clan Maurice, who fled to Clanricard, where their cause was taken up. Edmond and Aedh, son of Felim, who was now King of Connaught, and O'Kelly invaded Clanricard, which was subdued after three months of warfare, and gave hostages.

In 1367 he intervened in the O'Conor Sligo quarrels. Donnell and Teige were the rivals. Donnell had the help of MacWilliam and MacDermot and MacDonogh and O'Rourk. Edmond operated in Leyny, where he captured John O'Hara and William O'Malley. Other forces dealt with Teige, whom they pursued to the Strand of Ballysa-

[1] And William Burk (A.Cl.).

dare, where they killed 150 of his Gallowglasses under MacDonnells and MacSweenys and MacSheehys. Donnell and Teige now divided the country.

After the decay of English power the bands of Gallowglasses became an important Irish institution. They originated in bodies of mercenary Scots brought in by the MacDonnells of Antrim, who were hereditary constables—the name given by the Irish to commanders of these bands. These men were carefully chosen, well drilled, and well armed, and being under strict discipline, fought with great determination, often refusing to flinch, and being killed to the last man.

The maintenance of such a body very much increased the power of an Irish chieftain over his sub-chiefs and his relations. Owing to the difficulty of making punctual payments, lands were in time assigned as pay to the constables, whose forces in these circumstances soon fell to the average Irish standard of efficiency. The MacDonnells, called Clandonnell Gallowglass, and their relations the MacDougalls were the great Gallowglass family of Ulster and Connaught and Leinster. MacSweenys took up the business in Ulster and Connaught, and MacSheehys in Munster. In later times Clandonnells were engaged by the Lower MacWilliam.

In 1371 Donnell O'Dubhda attacked the English of Tireragh and took Castleconor and Ardnarea Castle. He is said to have parcelled the land out among his people, but this is an exaggeration. Ardnarea was always a Bourke castle.

Sir Edmond died in 1371. He was a man of unusual ability and determination, who acquired supremacy over all the English settlers of Connaught and took a leading part in the quarrels of his Irish neighbours; he was too strong to be much troubled by his enemies, who could do no more against him than a small raid.

Thomas I., 1375–1401.

The succession of Thomas to his father, Sir Edmond, marks the declension from English law. His elder brother, William Saxonagh, left a son whose right according to English law was ignored in favour of Thomas. He succeeded only partially to his father's position. Though he seems to have been acknowledged as the one MacWilliam, there is no doubt that in his time Richard Og became an independent MacWilliam and lord of the parts of the county of Galway commonly called Clanricard. Thomas's dominions were the county of Mayo and the barony of Ross, and some land about Ardnarea and along the east bank of the Moy. From want of ability to control his people and the barons who held under him, and from the general weakening of his

country caused by the absence of that fairly good administration of law which had made his grandfather and uncle and father so powerful, and which died with the separation from the king's courts and authority, and by the wars which his father had been obliged to wage in his new position, he failed to protect his country efficiently from his enemies, who repeatedly entered and destroyed and plundered to the heart of it. Though he could retaliate, that was no compensation for the loss of security which, during this and the following century, reduced the lands of the English lords to the level of those of their Irish neighbours in poverty and disorder.

The lesser lords becoming equally independent in their own sphere, the dissolution of authority progressed rapidly. They began to fight with each other and in their own families. The absence of superior authority rendered this inevitable; there was no other way of settling a dispute when one of the parties was unwilling to refer to an arbitrator.

In one important point the Bourkes and the English lords differed from their Irish neighbours. Those neighbours were not called in to help against members of their own family in family quarrels. For a long time they managed to settle them without fighting.

In 1377 Thomas and O'Kelly joined MacDermot against Ruaidhri O'Conor, King of Connaught, who defeated them when they attacked him at Roscommon Castle, killing Thomas's brother Richard and Hubert MacPhilpin and Henry MacPhilpin.

A war now broke out between the Sligo and Mayo chieftains, which seems to have originated in O'Conor quarrels. But as usual we have only fragments of information, notes of important events. Jordan de Exeter, lord of Athleathan, and John de Exeter were killed in a battle at Athleathan, in which the Lower MacWilliam defeated the Upper MacWilliam. The people of Gallen killed Murtough O'Hara. This was in 1380.

In the following year Donnell O'Conor of Sligo, MacDonogh, O'Dowda, and O'Hara burnt MacWilliam's country up to Carnglas and Belantondaigh,[1] and from Ballinrobe to Shrule and Killeenbrenin, and Cormac MacDonogh carried off the preys of John Bourke's sons up to Umhall. Carnglas must be on the Moy, whose estuary was called Inverglas. The Clan Donogh also broke down the castle of Athleathan and carried its gate away to Ballymote. The Clan Costello killed Teige MacDermot Gall.

In 1382 Clan Maurice plundered Corcamoe, and killed O'Concannon who pursued their prey. Conor Og MacDermot invaded Clan Maurice, who had notice and were ready. Nevertheless MacDermot reached the town (of the Bree?), where he burnt the buildings and corn and

[1] Not identified.

slew many, and returned safely. It is not to be supposed that Thomas Bourke looked on quietly, but none of his actions are recorded.

At the death of Ruaidhri O'Conor in 1384, Torlogh Roe was set up by the chiefs of Silmurray, Clan Murtough Mweenagh, MacDermot, and MacWilliam Burke. Torlogh Og was set up by O'Kelly, Donnell MacMurtough of Sligo, MacDonogh, and MacWilliam of Clanricard. This is the usual array of parties, except that O'Kelly has changed sides, perhaps because his second wife was a daughter of the late King Torlogh, uncle of Torlogh Og, and Torlogh Og was himself married to Grainne, O'Kelly's daughter. But it is not quite certain that this king is the Torlogh Og who was that Grainne's husband. Thus a general war broke out. It is impossible to make out the sequence of events, but all Connaught suffered from raids. The attacking party made preparations as quietly as possible. If successful they got off with their plunder before the enemy assembled in force, or carried off the plunder in spite of opposition. When they got home and dispersed a similar raid was made on them, or a neighbour raided their country during their absence. Cattle were driven backwards and forwards. An invader in sufficient force might secure submission and payment of cattle. But no one was effectively subdued.

The year 1385 was disastrous to Mayo men. MacWilliam invaded Tireragh and marched up to Sligo Castle. Donnell MacMurtough O'Conor of Sligo invaded and burnt Tirawley and carried off prisoners and plunder.

Cormac MacDonogh wasted Clann Cuain, but MacWilliam came against him and turned his men out of Castlebar. The MacDonoghs who went to plunder Carra were defeated, and lost many men at the hands of the Stauntons and others and the sons of Cathal Og. They drove their preys as far as the mountain of Carra, which I take to be Knockspellagadaun or Slieve Carna, where they killed them, and were themselves driven into Kilconduff and surrounded. But they escaped in the night.

The result of the fighting was that the Silmurray were divided under two O'Conors. Torlogh Roe adopted the name of O'Conor Roe. The chief castle of this branch was at Tulsk. Ballintubber Castle appears to have been in after times held by whichever O'Conor was strongest. Torlogh Og took the name of O'Conor Donn. Roscommon was his chief castle, but in this partition he got also that of Ballintubber. O'Donovan thought that "Donn" was the old Irish word meaning Lord, and that it was adopted to mark his claim to be considered as the head of the chief line of the family. The peace was but temporary.

In 1386 Donnell MacMurtough O'Conor, the MacDonoghs, the O'Haras, and O'Dowda invaded Tirawley. They killed Robert of

Dun Domnainn (or MacRobert, A.U.), a Barrett, and Maigeog Gallda and MacMeyler of Corran, who was probably a Bourke of Curraun Achill. They took Lynot's Castle and cut down the orchards of Iniscoe and Caerthanan, now Castlehill. O'Conor Roe and his men came to MacWilliam's help and plundered all Tireragh. They then went to plunder Clanricard. O'Brien brought an army to help MacWilliam of Clanricard, and they came up with O'Conor Roe, who turned on them and defeated them.

The result of the war was that the two O'Conors made peace, and that Thomas Bourke, MacWilliam Bourke, submitted to MacWilliam of Clanricard so far as to acknowledge his superiority as senior. MacFheorais, Lord Athenry, also acknowledged his supremacy. Thomas had been losing power since his accession, when he seems to have succeeded to Sir Edmond's position so far as to be acknowledged as sole MacWilliam, or to have assumed the position. Thomas now resigned this pretension, accepting Richard Og as a MacWilliam and as head of all the Burkes, in virtue of the fact that Richard had been acknowledged as a MacWilliam by his portion of the lordship from a date before Thomas's accession. This submission regulated the superiority in future. The superiority, however, seems to have been only formal and titular, but the settlement probably involved the abandonment of claims to anything more on either side.

The death of Richard Og in 1387 made Thomas the senior MacWilliam.

The O'Conors being at war as usual in 1388, MacWilliam advanced to Glendaduff in the mountains to act against MacDonogh. Teige O'Dowda carried off plunder from Addergoole. This must have been the Addergoole in the Coolcarney country, and the affair was probably only a petty skirmish and seizure of a few cattle. We know no more of Thomas's operations. For a few years the peace of Mayo was broken only by petty internal disturbances.

In 1393, the narrow neck which joined Dunros in Tirawley with the mainland being broken away by the sea, the men were brought off by means of ships' cables.[1] This may have been the Ross forming the eastern side of Rathfran Bay.

When Richard II. came to Ireland in this year, Thomas Bourke made a formal submission to him and was knighted.

In 1394 John de Exeter's sons killed MacJordan treacherously in his castle. In the following year MacJordan was taken prisoner by his own clan, and was put in the hands of Sir Thomas. Donnell O'Conor of Sligo came to MacWilliam's country with an army, and MacJordan was released, and peace was made. From the meagre entry made by the Four Masters, we may infer that the family

[1] MacFirbis, quoted by O'Donovan; F.M., 1393.

quarrel among the de Exeters was referred to Sir Thomas, and that Donnell thought it a good opportunity to attack Sir Thomas. But as O'Donnell also thought it a suitable time to invade Sligo, Donnell made peace with Sir Thomas.

As MacWilliam had taken up the cause of Cathal Og's sons, Donnell was opposed to him during his warlike and successful life, which ended a week before Christmas. From him his descendants, the O'Conor chieftains of Sligo, took the name of MacDomhnaill Mic Muirchear-taigh, used until 1536, when the name of O'Conor was used instead.

The O'Conor quarrels kept all the country in a turmoil. It is impossible to make out the course of events certainly, but they seem to have gone as follows in the year 1396. Robert Barrett was a rebel, but it does not appear why. The sons of John de Exeter were also in exile, probably on account of the murder of the late MacJordan.

The Clan Donogh and Robert Barrett and John O'Hara's sons went to plunder MacWilliam's country, and were joined by the Clan Maurice. MacWilliam and MacFheorais came up with them at Knockoconor, and killed two of John O'Hara's sons and Maghnus Fionn O'Conor. Richard MacMaurice's sons were plundered, and one of them was taken.

Having dealt with this raid and rising, a larger effort was made. MacWilliam, O'Kelly, MacFheorais, O'Conor Roe, O'Conor Donn, and Clanricard marched into the Sligo country against Murtough O'Conor and in behalf of Cathal Og's sons. This was during a peace between O'Conors Donn and Roe. The first four went through Gallen and plundered around Ardnarea. Bishop O'Hara was wounded by John de Exeter's son in an unsuccessful attack made by MacWilliam on John O'Hara. The bishop died within the year.

The other party attacked Ballymote, where they lost a Clan David Burke and others, and many horses, in burning the place, but killed some of their enemies.

The result of this attack in great force, and perhaps also of the burning of Sligo by O'Donnell, was that Murtough O'Conor submitted to O'Conor Donn and gave his son as a hostage, and that O'Conor Donn built a fortress at Tobercurry. The object of the expedition was attained, the reduction of the power of Murtough. But the arrangement was not permanent.

O'Flaherty has recorded a curious incident under this year, that William Bourke, a great-grandson of Sir Redmond, attacked Bishop Barrett at Anachdubhan, and killed his son Richard, and burnt the whole town. The place is the island called Annagh in the east of L. Con, which had been a seat of the O'Dowda kings. A Thomas Barrett was Bishop of Elphin at this time. If we read "Edmond"

for "Redmond," this William would be the grandson of William Saxonagh who died at Iniscoe.

Sir Thomas joined with O'Conor Roe in the battle of Kinnitty in the following year, when the O'Conor Roe forces surprised MacDonogh, who had come to join the O'Conor Donn party. MacDonogh and his Tanist were killed, with many others. Murtough O'Conor was much weakened by this affair.

In the two following years Sir Thomas again attacked Murtough, advancing to Sligo and Carbury in the interests of Cathal Og's sons.

Sir Thomas died in 1401.

The county of Mayo may be said to have acquired definite shape in Sir Thomas's reign as the lordship of Sir Edmond Albanagh's descendants, which was neither increased nor diminished until the lordship was made a county in the middle of the sixteenth century. By later arrangements the barony of Ross was transferred to O'Flaherty, and to the county of Galway, and the Ardnarea Bourke estate was thrown into the county of Sligo.

The county of Sligo also took shape in this period as the lordship of the Clan Andrias O'Conor, whom O'Dowdas, O'Haras, O'Garas, and MacDonoghs acknowledged as chief.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE MACWILLIAMS, SONS AND GRANDSONS OF SIR THOMAS BOURKE—1401 TO 1503.

THIS period is marked by a greater amount of internal fighting among the English of Mayo, and by a repetition of quarrels with Clanricard, for which cause does not appear. It is convenient first to summarise the principal actions of this period.

The two MacWilliams went into Munster to help the Earl of Ormond against the Earl of Desmond. Edmond Bourke attacked the Western O'Haras in 1411, and, apparently by way of retaliation, Brian O'Conor made a raid through the middle of Mayo. Edmond was fighting with MacFheorais in 1417, and in 1419 MacWilliam and his allies invaded Clanricard, but suffered defeat. Petty internal quarrels only are noted until Ulick of Clanricard and his Sligo allies came into Kilmaine in 1430. In 1443 Edmond, then MacWilliam, procured the submission of Ulick of Clanricard.

In 1446 O'Donnell comes into Roscommon and into Kilmaine. Henceforth he interferes often and with great effect in Roscommon, Mayo, and Galway.

In 1449 the sons of Walter and of Edmond were defeated when invading Clanricard. Richard was defeated in his invasion of Clanricard in 1467, but O'Donnell came and enforced peace in his interest.

There was a great deal of fighting between the subordinate lords, which measures the decadence of the country.

WALTER, 1401–1440.

Walter became MacWilliam Bourke in succession to his father, and acknowledged the superiority of Ulick, MacWilliam of Clanricard. In the following year, 1402, they went into Munster to help the Earl of Ormond against the Earl of Desmond.

Edmond Bourke attacked the sons of John O'Hara, the western O'Haras, in 1411, probably on behalf of his brother, as Brian O'Conor led a force through Gallen, Clann Cuain, Carra, and Kilmaine, burning Castlebarry, and Lehinch, and Lough Mask. The Clan Maurice

were with him. Though the Bourkes assembled their adherents and O'Flaherty, he is said to have got away safely, and to have sent home the Clan Maurice and obtained a peace without fighting. As Brian's brother Eogan is said to have plundered O'Conor Roe, this raid seems to have been an incident in a much wider war.

Richard Barrett went to plunder Coolcarney, and was driven into the Moy by the people of the country and was drowned. There seems to have been now, and even earlier, a Barrett family ready to take arms against the Bourkes. These incidents may have been the cause of the Bourkes eventually oppressing the Barretts to some extent. In the following year MacWattin took Henry Barrett prisoner in the church of Errew.

In 1417 Edmond Bourke plundered and captured MacFheorais and carried him off to Lough Mask Castle.

In 1419 MacWilliam Bourke joined O'Kelly and his Roscommon allies, with MacDavid on their side on this occasion, in an expedition into Clanricard. They had two bands of Gallowglasses, one under Torlogh MacDonnell, which was probably in MacWilliam's service, and one under MacDowell, which was probably in O'Conor's. MacWilliam secured the help of Teige O'Brien, and had the Gallowglass Donnell MacSweeny with him. The armies met in battle at Ath Lighen, somewhere in the south of Clanricard. Marlborough dates it as on the 28th July. Clanricard won a great victory. MacDowell and his two sons and all their Gallowglasses were slain. Torlogh MacDonnell survived, but all his men were slain. O'Kelly and MacDavid, called William Garbh, were taken prisoners. The result was peace for ten years between the MacWilliams. It seems to have been made in 1420, as the MacWilliams released prisoners in exchange. Walter released Cathal O'Conor, whom he held as a pledge for the castle of Roscommon, and Ulick released O'Kelly. O'Conor Donn was released by one of them, probably Walter, as O'Conor Donn was a friend of Ulick.

In 1428 MacJordan and John MacCostello made a raid into Tirawley upon Thomas Barrett and the sons of MacWattin. John Finn MacC. and Richard Barrett were slain.

In 1430 MacWilliam of Clanricard and his allies are recorded to have triumphantly invaded Conmaicne Cuile. This seems to have been an incident in the O'Conor Donn and Roe wars.

There was such a famine in 1433 that it was called the Summer of Aberration, "for nobody recognised a dear one, or friend then, for the greatness of the famine" (A.U.). In the following year a great frost set in five weeks before Christmas and lasted for twelve weeks. Horses and cattle went on the great lakes, and there was a great loss of birds.

In 1435 "MacWattin, *i.e.* Robert Barrett, lord of Tirawley, a

charitable, humane, and truly hospitable man, who protected his patrimonial territory in despite of the English of Connaught, died" (F.M.). This entry points to the quarrel of the Bourkes and the Barretts, to which is attributed the settlement of Richard O'Cuairsci's descendants in Tirawley.

In 1439 O'Conor Donn's son plundered MacCostello Roe.

Walter Bourke died of the plague a week before the festival of the Holy Cross in autumn. To him, or to his father, is ascribed the foundation of the small Franciscan friary at Annagh on the shore of Lough Carra. He was succeeded by his brother.

Edmond II. (na Fesoige), 1440–1458.

Edmond seems to have been the leading spirit and the most warlike of his family, as his name has been already specially mentioned. In 1443 he gathered his allies to attack the other MacWilliam, who, being unable to raise sufficient forces, submitted without fighting, and accepted from Edmond 400 cows and a horse and armour, whereby he made a real submission according to Gaelic ideas. This was an act of aggression on Edmond's part, as Ulick Ruadh was then the senior of the two MacWilliams. But there may have been unrecorded reasons for hostilities between the two great factions.

A great famine in the spring of 1447 was followed by a great outbreak of plague.

In 1449 Walter Bourke's sons made a raid as far as Claregalway, where they were met by Ulick Ruadh's forces, aided by O'Conor Donn's son and his forces, and suffered a serious defeat. Two of Edmond's sons were slain. Edmond, son of William Bourke, and Meyler, son of MacSeonin, and Meyler's own son were taken prisoner. They lost fifty-five men killed and taken.

The Barrett and Bourke quarrel went on. Walter, son of Theobald, son of Edmond Bourke, was killed by Thomas Barrett in 1453.

Edmond na Fesoige (of the Beard) died at the end of 1458.

In his time Henry Reagh O'Kelly, head of the sept called the Clann an Airchinnigh, settled in Carra. It was probably somewhat later than this date that the castle of Donamona was built. Henry was ninth in descent from King Donnell Mor, who died in 1224.

The clan name came from John, sixth in descent, who was Erenagh of Tuam. Henry's nephew William is said to have made the Bothar na Faine (Road of the Fane), in connection with the Togher Patrick in Drum parish. This name survives in Burnafania townland. The term "Parson of Donamona," applied in the composition of 1585 to Shane MacHubberte, seems to be a translation of Airchinnech. The family spread in Carra and Tirawley and Burrishoole, where it

appears under the name MacEnerhiny, and other renderings of Mac an Airchinnigh, in the English records.

The cross near the castle, put up in 1633 by David O'Kelly and his wife Cate Bourke in memory of his father, Meyler, who died in 1627, whereof only the pedestal remains, must be one of the last of the kind.

Thomas Og, 1458–1460.

He was Edmond's brother, and was also known as Thomas of Moyne. The latter description is probably taken from the castle of Moyne, which may well have been built by him, and which was in the hereditary estate in Kilmaine assigned to him and his descendants. He was founder of the Abbey of Moyne in Tirawley. No more is known about him. He died in 1460, and was succeeded by his brother.

Richard I., 1460–1469.

In 1461 a quarrel in the O'Conor Roe family caused MacWilliam to lead his army into Silmurray, where the matter seems to have been arranged without fighting. But there was unrecorded fighting about this time in the Co. Sligo. We are told by MacFirbis that Richard's son William marched against the castle of Muilenn Adam, which may have been near Knockmullen, in revenge for the loss of his eye, which the sons of O'Neill had put out at that castle some time before. The sons of O'Neill and some MacDonogh forces pursued him to Ballymote, where he turned on them and killed fifteen, among them O'Neill's sons and Manus MacDonogh. The petty fighting all over the country was incessant about this time.

MacWilliam Bourke attended upon the Earl of Desmond, the new Lord Deputy of Ireland.

In 1466 he marched into Roscommon and burnt Ballintubber in support of Felim Finn in a quarrel in the O'Conor Roe family. The great Connaught parties seem to have taken sides as usual. The invasion of Clanricard in 1467 may be taken as part of the same dispute.

Richard and O'Kelly suddenly invaded Clanricard and plundered about Loughreagh and Tuluban. As they heard that the forces of the country had been assembled, they began their retreat; but Ulick Ruadh and some O'Brien allies came up with them at Crosmacron, in the west of Grange parish, and gave them a serious defeat. MacWilliam Bourke's son, William Caech, and two sons of O'Kelly were slain. The constable of MacWilliam's Gallowglasses, Aedh Buidhe, son of Torlogh, son of Marcus MacDonnell, and his two sons and

three brothers, and eleven nobles of his party, and 160 Gallowglasses were also slain. In consequence of this grave defeat, O'Donnell came down into Connaught on MacWilliam's behalf and forced Clanricard to make peace. At this time O'Donnell, Aedh Roe, was an ally of MacWilliam. This was some return for help given in 1464, when Richard Bourke, probably O'Cuairsci, had taken seven ships to Tirconnell to help O'Donnell.

In 1468 there was some fighting in the neighbourhood as usual, and Richard led an army into Roscommon to support his ally, and probably vassal, Felim Finn. But age and illness seem to have disabled him. He resigned the lordship in 1469, and retired into the monastery of Burrishoole which he had founded.

The Grandsons of Sir Thomas, 1469–1503.

This period is of much the same character as the preceding. Incessant petty wars of minor chieftains among themselves and family quarrels continued. MacWilliam Eighter was sometimes in alliance with and sometimes fighting against O'Donnell, who on the whole gained power in Sligo. The MacWilliams were generally at peace with each other. At the close of the century Gerald, the great Earl of Kildare, as Lord Deputy began to interfere in Roscommon and Galway.

Richard II., 1469–1479.

Richard I. was succeeded by the son of his brother Edmond. This Richard is known as Ricard O'Cuairsci (Richard of the Bent or Round Shield). MacFirbis, in his great "Book of Genealogies," gives him also the description "of the Ruag Thimchell," and asserts that he conquered the Barretts and took from them Iniscoe, Ballycastle, Ardnarea, and various places in Tirawley. He also attributes to Richard the carrying off of the Lord of Howth, whom he released on condition that the door of Howth Castle be kept open at dinner-time. He must have been an able man, for he kept his hereditary lordship free from invasion, and made head against O'Donnell in Sligo to some extent.

He signalised the year of his accession by an invasion of Clanricard, in company with O'Donnell, by way of revenge for Crosmacron. They advanced to the south of Claregalway, and spent some days in plundering and wasting the country. In the meanwhile Ulick Ruadh, MacWilliam Oughter, collected his forces, and in company with his allies, the sons of O'Brien, came up with the northern armies as they were retiring. The cavalry of Ulick and of the O'Briens attacked their rear at Ballinduff. O'Donnell's cavalry

defeated them. The southern forces were rallied and continued the pursuit. The northern army turned and gave battle at the river Glanog, and wholly defeated the southerners, who ceased to pursue. The battle was probably fought near Cloghanower.

This year is marked by the first record of quarrelling among the Bourkes themselves, in the Annals of Ulster: "Ricard, son of Thomas de Burgh, was slain by the sons of John de Burgh." It is most likely that he was a son of Thomas of Moyne, and that his slayers were the sons of John of Muinter Crechain.

The alliance with O'Donnell was soon broken. In 1470 O'Donnell made the sons of Owen O'Conor of Sligo submit to him, and in the following year came to make the chieftains of Sligo submit to his nominee, Donnell, son of Owen, and operated in Carbury and against the MacDonoghs. MacWilliam Bourke came to assist Rory, son of Brian O'Conor. Donnell went into Sligo Castle. MacWilliam laid siege and broke down the gate-tower, whereupon they made peace. It seems that MacWilliam came up after O'Donnell had gone home.

In 1472 Richard went to assist Teige Caoch O'Kelly. When the latter had secured hostages from the country west of the Suck, Richard suffered a defeat which is described obscurely by the Four Masters. They seem to mean that a son of MacWalter Burke, the sons of MacMaurice, the sons of MacJordan, and a son of MacEvilly and others, twenty-six in all, went off privately by themselves and were surrounded by the hostile O'Kellys, who captured or killed all but MacJordan, who fought his way out though wounded.

In 1476 the Sligo quarrel was taken up again. O'Donnell and MacDonogh came to Cuilcnamha, the extreme eastern part of Tireragh. MacWilliam and MacDermot came to Coillte Luighne, cutting O'Donnell off from his own country. O'Donnell lost some men and horses in crossing the Strand into Carbury, whither MacWilliam followed him. The armies faced each other for a while, and then peace was made by cession of O'Dowda's country, Leyny, and half of Carbury to MacWilliam, and the rest to O'Donnell. This was, of course, but a temporary arrangement.

In 1478 MacWilliam interfered in a dispute between MacDermot and his Tanist, and went on to Sligo, where he is said to have left his son in charge of the castle.

Richard O'Cuairsci was killed by a fall in 1579. He was succeeded by his cousin Theobald, son of Walter Bourke.

THEOBALD I., 1479–1503.

The following year was marked by a family quarrel of the Bourkes. The sons of Richard Bourke defeated Edmond Bourke's

sons. A MacDowell and David Mac in Oirchinnigh are said to have been killed. The latter was probably an O'Kelly of Donamona, and the quarrel was most likely between the sons of Richard I. and of Edmond II.

In 1485 there was quarrelling over O'Conor affairs in Roscommon. It is not clear how Theobald intervened, but a quarrel broke out, and O'Donnell and Ulick Finn, the new MacWilliam Oughter, were engaged in it, and O'Donnell carried Felim Finn O'Conor off to Tirconnell as a hostage. This interference may have been the cause of the war. O'Donnell invaded Tirawley. Theobald gave battle, and seems to have been defeated, as it is recorded that 100 of his men were slain, and John MacJordan and Ulick, son of Richard I., and many others were taken prisoner. According to the Annals of Ulster, it was fought at Ardnarea.

The Bourke and Barrett quarrel was kept up. Richard's son Edmond was treacherously taken prisoner by the Barretts, but was rescued, in 1487. This was but an incident in the general disorder of the time. O'Donnell ravaged Moylurg twice. O'Conor Donn and MacWilliam Oughter ravaged O'Conor Roe's country. The O'Kellys fought among themselves. The O'Conors of Sligo attacked the MacJordans. Theobald's allies and dependants were all at war, but save for the attack on the MacJordans, it does not appear that his territories suffered, nor does it appear what he was doing. It may be inferred that he was successful on the whole, because O'Donnell made peace with him in the following year, and his ally, Felim Finn, was made O'Conor Roe and chief of all the O'Conors of Roscommon, in succession to Donough, by O'Donnell and MacWilliam and MacDermot in due form.

The plague was very bad in 1489, and a famine followed in 1493.

In 1494 Richard O'Cuairsci's son William was killed while helping O'Donnell, now an ally, to besiege Sligo Castle in the interest of Rory O'Conor, who had become chief when his sons killed Donnell in a night attack on Bunfinne Castle on 14th March.

In 1497 Richard O'Cuairsci's son Walter went with ships to Ulster to help Conn O'Donnell, in whose favour his father Aedh Ruadh had resigned the chieftainship, against his brother Aedh. Aedh met the fleet, and "took the greater part of their arms and their apparel and their stores from them" (A.U.). But Aedh was himself immediately afterwards taken by Conn, and sent into Connaught in charge of Walter; Conn himself was killed by Henry O'Neill on the 19th October. Aedh therefore was released on the 7th November, and Walter went with him to Ulster. Aedh refused to take up the chieftainship, and his father resumed it. There was a great famine in this year.

Richard O'Cuairsci's son Richard Og and Cormac O'Higgin were killed by Clann Fheorais on the Wednesday after Whitsuntide in 1499.

The Earl of Kildare, who was now Lord Deputy, had interfered in Ulster affairs in the year before by acting against O'Neill. He now intervened in Connaught. He took the castle of Athleague from William O'Kelly's sons, and drove them to the west of the Suck, in favour of Conor O'Kelly. He took up the cause of Hugh O'Conor Donn against O'Conor Roe. O'Conor Roe had for some time been able to keep the position of chief of the O'Conors of Roscommon. The Lord Deputy now took the castles of Roscommon and Castlereagh and Tulsk, in which were the hostages of O'Conor Roe, handed over to O'Conor Donn the castles and hostages of the O'Conor Roe sept, and went away leaving O'Conor Donn as chief. As soon as he left, MacDermot and the Silmurray turned on O'Conor Donn and drove him across the Shannon. MacWilliam Bourke now intervened. The annalists tell their story in a concise and far from clear manner, but on consideration of the facts it appears that Theobald did not come to set up O'Conor Donn again, but to undo the Lord Deputy's work and re-establish his friend O'Conor Roe, Aedh, son of Aedh, as chief of his own sept and as superior of O'Conor Donn. MacDermot and O'Conor Roe were always of his party. There was also at this time a split in the family of O'Conor Roe. He took Tulsk Castle from the branch of the family put in possession in the interest of O'Conor Donn, and handed it over with the hostages of O'Conor Roe's sept to O'Conor Roe, and put him in possession of his castles. He made peace between MacDermot and O'Conor Donn. He also restored the castle of Athleague to William O'Kelly's sons. In it he captured Conor O'Kelly, the second lord of Hy Many, whom he handed over to his own ally, Melaghlin O'Kelly, who thus became sole O'Kelly.

This seems to have been the last war of his life. He died on the 5th March 1503 at a great age.

CHAPTER XX.

FROM 1503 TO 1550.

THIS period is marked as a whole by freedom from invasion and plundering by outside enemies on a large scale. The silence of the Annals agrees with the general course of events. On the other hand, we may feel equally sure that a considerable amount of border warfare and of internal fighting has been ignored.

It is marked also by less interference in external affairs by MacWilliam Bourke, which is perhaps the cause of freedom from invasion.

As he left his neighbours to settle their own quarrels, no one wanted to interfere with him. His immediate neighbours on the east and north were too weak. O'Donnell continued his interference in Sligo, and strengthened his influence. MacWilliam's abstention was in his interest. At a later time the marriage of his daughter to Oliverus Bourke accounts for his giving the Bourkes help in Tirawley. The occasions when he came into collision with MacWilliam did not lead to prolonged warfare. The Bourkes had considerable power over the parts of Tireragh which lie along the Moy. The castle of Enniscrone could not be held against them. But they themselves occupied only the castle of Ardnarea and the lands attached thereto.

O'Donnell's power in Connaught was increased by constant raids on O'Conors, O'Haras, and MacDermots.

During the first few years the other MacWilliam was much weakened by the effects of the battle of Knocktoe. Later on the power of the king's Government began to be felt in South Connaught. The grant of the Earldom of Clanricard, and the disputes which arose in consequence of the determination of the Government to secure for the young Earl the succession to the rights of the MacWilliamship, claimed by Sir William Burke, prevented the Burkes of Clanricard from acting as a body in external affairs until the young Earl came of age and took up without further contest the position of MacWilliam Oughter.

The Bourkes came to blows amongst themselves, killing or murdering each other, but without persistent warfare or wasting of each other's estates. A certain amount of fighting between the

minor lords and their neighbours, especially between MacCostellos and MacDermots, is recorded in the Annals.

I have closed this period with the year 1550 because the Earl of Clanricard, Richard Saxonagh, was put in possession of his estates and became a power in Connaught on the side of the Government.

The Reformation was not yet felt much in Connaught. The Government was able to make Bodkin Archbishop of Tuam, and to make some minor appointments. The dissolution of the monasteries was carried out to some extent. The estates were surrendered in case of some of the richer houses, and in at least one case let on lease to the abbot for life. In other cases grants were made to laymen. It is evident that the great lords regarded the religious houses with indifference. They were glad enough to take grants of lands. The monks were let live in their houses, which were useless to laymen, who must live in defensible castles if rich enough to occupy large dwellings. Their lands in Mayo seem to have been left in possession of the monks. Owing to loss of records, it is not easy to see what actually occurred at this early period. It may be said that there was no real and apparent change for a good many years. It is likely that many of the early grants to local lords were taken in the interest of the monks who remained undisturbed, but would have to pay rent if the grantee should be obliged to pay any to the Government. This would not occur until much later days, when the newly formed counties were subjected to an effective administration of the law. For many years the Government of Ireland had only influence over the lords, no continuous local control. It seems to have been contented where really powerless, as here, to leave things alone until the legal rights could be enforced without difficulty.

EDMOND III., 1503–1513.

Theobald was succeeded by Edmond, son of Richard O'Cuairsci. In this year occurred the events which led directly to the battle of Knockdoe. Ulick of Clanricard demolished three of O'Kelly's castles and defeated O'Kelly in the battle of Bel Atha na nGarbhan, in which O'Kelly had the help of MacWilliam Bourke's forces under Walter Bourke, a grandson of Thomas of Moyne, described as a distinguished captain, who was slain. Many of the Gallowglasses of Clan Donnell and Clan Sweeny were slain around their constables. O'Kelly applied to the Lord Deputy for help, who came next year with great forces. Lord Kildare had some English barons of the Pale with him, but the fight was really between the English and Irish of North Connaught aided by some great Ulster lords and the

Lord Deputy on one side, and MacWilliam of Clanricard and the Irish of Thomond and Ormond and Ara and Ely on the other side. No doubt it was the Lord Deputy's power and influence that brought down such great forces from Ulster as made the northern side irresistible in battle. Where the allies met does not appear. The two armies engaged on the 19th September 1504 at Knockdoe—according to local tradition, between the top of the hill and the townland of Turloughmore. Musket balls and a cannon ball are said to have been found on the hillside.

Both sides fought with determination, until the southern was completely defeated, with very great loss on both sides. Ware puts the Clanricard losses at 2000 men. The Four Masters and Annals of Ulster give the survivors as one broken battalion out of nine. The Lord Deputy is said to have taken Ulick's two sons and two daughters prisoners. The daughters would not be taken in battle, so it is probable that they, and perhaps the sons, were afterwards given up as hostages. The defeat was decisive. The victors went next day to Galway, and afterwards took possession of Athenry.

The result enhanced the power of MacWilliam Bourke and of his ally, O'Conor Roe, as against their rivals, MacWilliam of Clanricard and O'Conor Donn. Peace was kept between the MacWilliams for many years.

"John, the son of Richard Burke, was treacherously slain by the sons of Ulick Burke in the monastery of Toberpatrick" (F.M.). John is the son of Richard I. The Ulick meant cannot be identified. This murder survives in tradition, but under other names. John and Ulick are long forgotten. It was lately told that Tibot na Long, coming from Castlebourke, was met by his brother-in-law, who had come from Sligo, and was murdered near the abbey.

In 1512 O'Donnell and Edmond came into collision. The cause is not clear, but we may infer it to have been due to O'Donnell's interference in the part of Tireragh over which the Bourkes claimed rights. The story is told thus in the Annals of Ulster: "O'Domnaill proceeds from Derry [with] a few horsemen and takes the castle of Bel-in-clair[1] in the country of Galenga, and leaves warders in it and goes back into Tir-Fiachrach. MacWilliam musters and goes towards the town, and, on that being learned by O'Domnaill, he attacks the town again, and MacWilliam abandons the town to him and goes to put provision and warders into the castle of Escir-abhann[2] in Tir-Fiachrach. On that being learned by O'Domnaill, O'Domnaill pursues him across Sliabh Gamh. On this being notified to MacWilliam, he leaves his son and other warders in the town and goes forward himself to Ard-na-riag. O'Domnaill catches sight of

[1] Aclare in Leyny. [2] Enniscrone.

him, and he is pursued, and they come between MacWilliam and the ford. And MacWilliam by swimming escapes [despite them] from it [with] a few, and the [escaped] part of his people is followed beyond [the river] Muaidh and many horses and much armour were wrested from them, and they went themselves in plight of defeat. O'Domnaill sits under the castle of Escir-abhann, and takes the place at end of four days, and breaks it down straightway, and takes the son of MacWilliam [namely, Ulick] and the other warders and comes safe to his house." The Four Masters add that MacWilliam followed O'Donnell to Donegal and gave him all his demands.

It is evident that there was little more than skirmishing. O'Donnell was weak, and MacWilliam had but a handful of men. He manœuvred to provision and strengthen Enniscrone. Having done that, he was caught on his way to Ardnarea, and Enniscrone Castle fell before he could collect forces to relieve it. O'Donnell was not strong enough to hold the castle, and hurried away with his hostage in order to secure a ransom, which MacWilliam had to pay to save his son's life.

Edmond was treacherously murdered on the 23rd February 1513, in the monastery of Rathfran, by Theobald Reagh and Edmond Ciocarach, sons of his brother Walter. His brother John succeeded him.

JOHN I., 1513–1514.

John was murdered treacherously by his kinsmen in the year after his accession. The murderers are not named, but we may guess at his brother's murderers.

In this year O'Donnell made a small raid into Gallen as far as Croghan Gaileng, and killed O'Ruadhain and others.

MEYLER I., 1514–1520.

No events affecting Mayo are recorded during his reign. He was on friendly terms with O'Donnell, and his neighbours were too weak to attack him.

He was killed on the 28th April 1520, treacherously, by the sons of Seonin Mor, son of MacSeonin.

EDMOND IV., 1520–1527.

This Edmond was a son of Ulick, son of Edmond II.

In 1521 a war broke out between O'Donnell and O'Neill. O'Neill got help from the Earl of Kildare, who gave him his Gallowglasses,

and from some of the English of Meath, and from the MacDonnells. O'Neill arranged an alliance with the two MacWilliams, MacDermot, O'Conors Roe and Donn, O'Brien, O'Kennedy, and O'Carroll, who agreed to meet him in Tirhugh about the 15th August. They reached Sligo on the Friday before and stopped to take the castle. O'Neill was encamped at Knockavoe in Raphoe. O'Donnell, having far inferior forces, made a night attack on O'Neill's camp with picked men, and cut O'Neill's army to pieces. He marched at once to Carrownamaddoo near Grange in Carbury. The Connaught lords heard of O'Neill's defeat at the time of his arrival and resolved to make peace. They sent Teige O'Brien to O'Donnell's camp, but broke up their own and marched away with such haste that their envoy, after agreeing with O'Donnell, did not come up with them until they reached the Curlews. Teige agreed with O'Donnell that the differences between O'Donnell and the MacWilliams should be referred to the arbitration of Manus O'Donnell and O'Carroll. This retreat without fighting raised O'Donnell's reputation very high. Next year he made peace with O'Neill.

In 1526 O'Donnell was obliged to come down to Sligo in force against the O'Conors and MacDonoghs, and took the opportunity of helping the Tirawley Bourkes against the Barretts, whereof the only record is in the Annals of Loch Cé: "O'Donnell then marched his army into Tirawley, where he took the castles of Caerthanan and Cros Maoiliona, in which he found hostages and many spoils; he then threw down and totally demolished these castles, so that they were no longer habitable. He afterwards established peace, amity, and concord between the descendants of Richard Burke and the Barretts so that they were friendly towards one another."

In the following year O'Donnell brought a large army into Moylurg, where he destroyed three castles. "They afterwards proceeded to Castlemore-Costello for the purpose of taking it. This was an impregnable fortress, for it contained provisions and every kind of engines, the best to be found at that time in Ireland, for resisting enemies, such as cannon and all sorts of weapons. These chieftains nevertheless proceeded to besiege the castle; and they placed their army in order all around it, so that they did not permit any person to pass from it or towards it, till at last they took it." (F.M.) This means that the garrison was starved out. The attack on the castle seems to have been due to the alliance of MacCostello with some of the MacDermots, not to a quarrel with the Bourkes.

Edmond IV. died on the 30th October 1527. He was succeeded by John.

JOHN II., 1527–15—; ULICK II., 15— –1534.

He is known as John of the Termon. The Termon of Balla has been supposed to have given him the name, but I think he is as likely to have taken it from the Termon in the barony of Kilmaine in which his family was chief. The Termon is the name of a townland in Strafford's Survey, which lay close to Ballyglass. It does not appear how long he reigned. No events are recorded as having occurred in his time. The succession of the Lower MacWilliams is very obscure for some years. I give the names which I find.

In the year 1530 O'Donnell is said to have plundered Gallen in the middle of the summer, and to have made an expedition against MacWilliam in harvest, when he plundered some of his country. Then they made peace.

In 1532 the O'Dowdas took the castle of Ardnarea from John Bourke's son, but Thomas Bourke's sons recovered it the following year. Hence an Irish proverb arose in that country—"Like the expectation of O'Dowda to regain Ardnarea" (H.F., p. 308).

Ulick died on the 27th October 1534.

THEOBALD II., 1534–1537.

Theobald's accession is not recorded, and I assume him to have succeeded Ulick. In his time the O'Dowdas, with help of O'Conor Sligo and MacDonoghs, made a raid into Tirawley against the Bourkes at the instigation of Bishop Barrett, and carried off cattle which had been driven into the Termon of Errew for protection. It seems to have been but a petty raid in the course of the local quarrel of Bourkes and O'Dowdas, probably one of many on both sides, the one which by chance has been recorded. This was in 1536, the year in which Teige Og O'Conor assumed the title "O'Conor" instead of "MacDonnell Mic Murtough." He made an attack on MacCostello also, who came out of his castle and surrendered to O'Conor MacFheorais's coat of mail as a hostage, which he afterwards redeemed. This coat must have had some very great value as a trophy of an unrecorded victory over MacFheorais.

O'Conor's pretensions brought O'Donnell down on him. O'Donnell came into Tireragh and plundered it. A party of horsemen, 160 to 180, was sent across the Moy in pursuit of O'Dowda's cattle, which it captured, together with O'Dowda's wife, a daughter of Walter Bourke. They took the opportunity of helping John Bourke's family against Bishop Barrett.

Theobald died in 1537. It does not appear who succeeded him. A

war ensued respecting his property. I cannot ascertain the name of any MacWilliam from this until Oliverus appears as MacWilliam in 1558.

From 1537 to 1550.

The English power was now making itself felt again in Connaught. In 1538 the Lord Deputy, Lord Leonard Gray, made a tour in Munster, when he received the submission of Tibbot Burke, the MacWilliam of Clan William in Munster, and of other lords. Ulick na gCeann of Clanricard met him there and submitted. The Lord Deputy came into Clanricard, and on the 10th July took the castle of Claregalway from Richard Og Burke, who had done much harm to the town of Galway, and made it over to Ulick, whom he calls a great friend of the town. On the 11th July he went to Galway and received the submission of O'Flaherty, O'Madden, and Thomas MacYoris. He left Galway on the 19th. He took the castles of Derry Maclaghney and Lackagh from Richard Og's sons and made them over to Ulick. When he was on the border of O'Kelly's country on the 21st, O'Conor Roe came and submitted. The Lower MacWilliam is not recorded to have submitted, but it is said that the Lord Deputy was preparing to march against him.

It was made a charge against Lord Leonard Gray that he displaced Richard Og from the MacWilliamship of Clanricard and put Ulick na gCeann in his place. There had been much quarrelling since 1536, and it is by no means certain that any one was fully established as MacWilliam. Richard Bacagh and Ulick, son of the Richard Og who died in 1519, were then set up, and Ulick na gCeann had then supported the former. But the Richard Og displaced by Gray is described by Darcy as an uncle of Ulick.[1]

The result of this tour was a distinct advance of the royal power. Several of these lords entered into indentures to pay rent and supply forces.

At a Parliament held in 1541 Lord Athenry was the only Connaught lord present; but Ulick of Clanricard, and other Irish lords not yet of Parliament, attended.

In 1543 the two MacWilliams and the three O'Conors and MacDermot attended the Council of Ireland. A result of this general submission was that MacWilliam of Clanricard, O'Brien, and O'Neill surrendered their Irish titles and agreed to hold their territories from the king. They were made Earls of Clanricard, Thomond, and Tyrone. The two Connaught earls were henceforth generally strong supporters of the king's authority, on which they relied for the inheritance of their estates according to English law.

[1] Carew MSS. I.

It does not appear why the Lower MacWilliam was left out of this arrangement. He was more powerful than Ulick. Either he would not make the necessary surrender, or, as probably, the existing lord was not so firmly in possession as to be able to risk a change in his position.

In 1545 according to the Annals of Loch Cé, or in 1549 according to O'Flaherty, Walter Fada, son of David Bourke, who was then or later MacWilliam, was murdered in the castle of Inveran in Moycullen, to the west of Galway, by Donnell O'Flaherty, at the instigation of his sister Finola, wife of David Bourke, in order to secure the succession to the MacWilliamship for her own son Richard an Iarainn.

In 1548 O'Conor Donn and the MacDermots, with some Gallowglasses of the MacSweenys and MacDowells, invaded Clann Maurice and killed Richard MacMaurice, "the young Abbot." They took Castlekeel, and probably also Castlemacgarrett, and killed between 100 and 200 people, and carried off 900 or 1000 cows and 10 horses.

CHAPTER XXI.

FROM 1550 TO 1568.

THE beginning of this period coincides with the direct assumption of Government duties in Connaught, though to a very small extent. Sir Thomas Cusack, the Chancellor of Ireland, was left for a time at Athlone as the representative of the Lord Deputy, and was employed in collecting information which led afterwards to the formation of counties. In a letter of the 8th May 1553 on the state of Ireland, he writes that when the Earl of Clanricard came of age a war broke out between the Earl and Ulick Burke, and that he with a small force reduced them to peace in a fortnight, and that "MacWilliam Bourke, second captain of most power in Connaught, is of honest conformity, and doth hinder none of the King's Majesty's subjects, and is ready to join with the Earl of Clanricard, and every other captain, to serve the King's Majesty in every place in Connaught"—and that these two, with a captain and a few men at Galway or Athenry, will be able to rule all Connaught.

All Connaught seems to have been now under tribute, or at least under agreement to pay something. Though I do not find positive record of it for each chief lord, yet the incidental references to certain cases justify the belief that the statement is true. Thus I find no evidence of a specific agreement between MacWilliam Bourke and the Lord Deputy, but I do find a Fiant, undated, of the year 1553, for a pardon to Edmund de Burgo of Caslanevarre—that is, Castlebar—and all his servants. Such a pardon is inconceivable in the circumstances of twenty years earlier, but agrees with the existing conditions of gradual extension of royal power, which seems to have been on the whole welcome to the great lords, though they were unable to keep the peace entirely, because of want of control over their principal subjects and the more powerful branches of their own families. Unfortunately the king's power was not always present in irresistible force, and was allowed occasionally to disappear altogether.

The Annals give but few notes of Mayo affairs at this time, probably because of peace, as they record little else than fighting and deaths. In 1553 the sons of Thomas Bacagh Bourke and the people of Gallen defeated Ricard an Iarainn, took him prisoner, and killed

150 of his men. In 1555 Edmond Boy, son of Thomas Bacagh, was killed by Oliver Bourke's sons.

When peace was made in 1553, on the submission of Leix and Offaly, Lord Clanricard was at Athlone with 100 horsemen, 200 Gallowglasses, 100 shots, 200 kerne, and six weeks' provisions. The war with O'Neill was in progress. The Bourkes seem to have moved in alliance with O'Neill, for Lord Clanricard wrote that he heard that Shane MacOliverus was advancing into the plains of Connaught with a large body of Scots, that he went to meet them, and encountered them late on the second day's march in the Curlews, where he overthrew them, killing many of the Scots and of Bourke's men. This may have been only a private adventure of John Bourke, as MacWilliam is not mentioned in connection with the affair.

In 1558 a somewhat similar incident occurred, in which David Bourke, who was then MacWilliam, must have been concerned, as his own son took a leading part. In the late summer 1200 Scots under Donnell and Dowell MacAillin, cousins of the Earl of Argyle, who are said by the Four Masters to have served long in Tirconnell, were induced by Ricard an Iarainn to come to Connaught. They plundered especially MacMaurice and Lord Athenry, adherents of Clanricard. Lord Clanricard met them after two days' march and defeated them on the third day, 8th September, at Cloonee, killing the two MacAillins and about 700 Scots. He pursued them for four days, so that few escaped. This Cloonee must have been somewhere on the borders of Mayo and Galway.

At the close of this year David Bourke died. He was succeeded by Richard, son of John of the Termon.

Richard III., 1558–1570.

The king's power made another step in advance in 1558, when the castle of Roscommon was given up by O'Conor Donn. But it was not occupied for the king until 1569.

Sir Henry Sidney being Lord Deputy in 1566, and fearing that O'Neill would intrigue with the Connaught lords, "sent for the Earl of Clanricard and MacWilliam Eighter, upon whose Factions all the intestine Wars in Connaught hath grown," and brought them to agreement for settlement of their disputes, and to promise support against O'Neill. He says that though he was assured that MacWilliam had never before repaired to any governor, yet he found him very well disposed and faithful to his engagement, although the Earl of Thomond had invaded his country and had wounded two of his brothers during his absence.

The Council Book, under the 13th August, 1566, shows that there was

also a meeting for a general pacification and settlement of disputes between the Earl and MacWilliam and Donogh Reagh O'Kelly and Walter, son of John Bourke, and Lord Bermingham of Athenry, and between Walter Bourke and James Bermingham of the sept of Thomas Bermingham. The principal points in dispute are shown in the following summary.

1. MacWilliam Eighter made his humble submission to the queen, and agreement to abide by the decision of the Council.

2. The Council ordered the parties to keep the peace towards each other and towards Morogh ne Doe O'Flaherty, O'Conor Roe, MacCostello, MacJordan, O'Kelly.

3. MacWilliam complained that O'Conor Donn had seized and imprisoned O'Conor Roe at a time when peace had been concluded between MacWilliam and the Earl of Clanricard at Loughreagh, before William Tirrell, envoy of the Lord Deputy, O'Conor Roe being under MacWilliam's peace. The Earl denied it. Order was made for inquiry. If the complaint is true the Earl must prosecute O'Conor Donn for O'Conor Roe's liberty.

4. A dispute regarding Garbally between Donogh Reagh O'Kelly and the Earl.

5. MacWilliam claimed Moyne as his hereditary right and in his territory. The Earl replied that his father Ulick held it—it came to himself as heir. Ordered that the castle be surrendered to the deputy pending trial.

6. Since Thomas Bourke, son of MacWilliam, Thomas MacRichard Boye MacJohn, Meiler MacRichard MacJohn, and Edmund MacRichard Boye MacJohn are held by the Earl for certain debts due under their composition, they are to be made over to the Council, to be made over to the custody of the Constable of Athlone, to be released by order of Council.

7. "And whereas Cahir MacDonyll MacConyll[1] was taken in flight by Edmund the Earl's brother, and released on bail, and John MacRichard MacMeilor escaped from prison, as the Earl alleges, we order that the fine or ransom be paid to the Earl if we or our commissioner see fit, and that the escaped prisoner, if he be shown to have come within MacWilliam's government, be by MacWilliam made over to the said Constable as is prescribed about the others."

8. Lord Birmingham of Athenry complained that Walter, son of John Bourke, withheld the castle of Dunmore from him. Walter denied and said it belonged to other Birminghams. Arrangement was made for trial.

Other disputes between the Earl and MacWilliam were to be settled hereafter by the Council.

[1] MacDomnaill.

Commissioners were appointed.

The parties were bound in £2000 to abide by this agreement.

The nature of the quarrels of the great lords is shown here. Such quarrels can be settled only by war unless both parties are very anxious for a peaceful arrangement. Some of them are such as the parties could not easily be brought to refer to arbitration. In Connaught there was no one who could be called in as an arbitrator. Ever since the disappearance of the courts of the chief lord of Connaught and of the king after 1333, such disputes must have been a constant cause of war, and explain many things.

Though this dispute regarding Moyne seems to have been settled as between the Earl and MacWilliam, another survived between the Earl and Walter FitzJohn, which was not decided until November 1571. The castle belonged to the Earl in 1585, so he may be assumed to have won all through. It does not appear who this Walter FitzJohn Bourke was. John of the Termon's son, Walter Cluas le Doinin, was killed at the battle of Shrule. He may be a descendant of Thomas Og of Moyne.

The position of Richard Boy MacJohn in the genealogy is not determined.

In connection with this dispute, and in illustration of the arrangements made from time to time among the Connaught Bourkes, a recital of claim which appears in an inquisition of the 4th April 1609, taken regarding titles to lands in Mayo, is of some interest. It recites that Eraght Thomas consisted of eighteen towns of four quarters, divided between five brothers, whereof two conveyed their shares to the first Earl of Clanricard, who entered into the castle of Moyne and four quarters and all the territory except a mill and four acres at Moyne; that David MacEdmund MacUlick, being MacWilliam Eighter, granted the Earl a rent charge of 9s. on 440 quarters; that Richard, the second earl, entered into possession of Eraght Thomas, and, by purchase, of castle of Moycharra and of the castle of Carha in Moyntercreighan. Many rents are recited as granted by MacJonyns, MacMeylers, MacGibbons, and others, and are said to have been paid to the second earl's sergeant, who went round with MacWilliam's sergeant for two years until Richard, son of John of the Termon, went into rebellion and prevented payment to the Earl.

It is very likely that this claim was truly based on some old transaction, whereby David paid for help. But if the Earl ever had any claim on Eraght Thomas, there is no evidence of the fact. It is not improbable that two of the brothers did enter into some such bargain to secure help in a family quarrel. But whether they had any saleable interest is another question.

This appearance of the de Burgo lords was a great advance towards

the restoration of government. Sidney came to Galway in the following spring. He deplores the miserable condition of the country, having but one-twentieth of the population needed to inhabit it. He describes the Clanricard country as quiet and well tilled. He left the country by Athenry and Athlone, seeing only a part of the south. As the inhabitants were never within the memory of man in worse case, so, he says, they were never in more forwardness for reformation.

Having procured submission of the chief lords and made peace between those of English descent, Sir Henry now undertook to provide for the direct government of Connaught by the appointment of Commissioners to act in the place of the Lord Deputy during his absence from Connaught. Hitherto the Lord Deputy procured a show of submission by his appearance in the country at the head of a considerable force, but when he went to Dublin the old state of things arose. But these appearances of the royal authority accustomed the lords to its recognition as more than an empty form, and Sidney rightly judged that a delegate with a moderate force at his command would be able to exercise a good deal of power, and would have a sufficient amount of support from those lords who really desired to enjoy peace and quiet.

CHAPTER XXII.

FROM THE FORMATION OF THE COUNTY OF MAYO TO THE DEATH OF SIR N. MALBIE.

SIR EDWARD FITTON was appointed Governor of Connaught in July 1569, with the title of President of the Council, which consisted of a Justice, an Attorney, a Provost-Marshal, and several men of rank belonging to the province. The sheriffs of counties seem to have been usually on it. The normal constitution does not appear. It probably varied from time to time. All the chief provincial officers were on it, besides officers in command of companies of soldiers at times.

The President's powers were great. In important matters he was required to get the consent of one of his assistants, but he had a large measure of independence, as in the control of the military forces, which vested in him alone. He exercised the powers of the Lord Deputy to a great extent when the Lord Deputy was not present in person. The distribution of authority between President and Council is not defined in the records. It is inferred from remarks. The business as a rule was carried on by the provincial officers, as the sheriffs and unofficial members were usually absent from the head-quarters.

The President was afterwards called Chief Commissioner and Governor.

The sheriffs at first were authorised to use martial law in dealing with disturbances, but when Sir R. Bingham became Governor the power was reserved to the Governor. The sheriffs were the Governor's lieutenants within their counties.

Sir Henry Sidney made a journey into Connaught to establish the President and Council in office. He took up the castle of Roscommon, and placed a garrison in it under Sir Thomas Le Strange as Constable.

The first duty of these Commissioners, as they were also called, was to lay down definite boundaries of counties in Thomond and Connaught, excepting Brefne O'Reilly and Annaly. They laid out the counties of Clare or Thomond, Galway, Mayo, Roscommon, and Sligo, formed by grouping territories of chieftains. The county of Mayo as then laid down was not altered except by transfer of the

barony of Ross to Galway, and later by the transfer of Ardnarea to Sligo, and a little south of the river Lung to Roscommon.

Edmund FitzAlexander is the first sheriff of Mayo whose name appears, and probably was the first. But it does not appear who he was.

The first difficulty of the Government was the custom of cessing officers and soldiers on the country. The Government hated it, but could not do without it. The queen had no revenue from Connaught. Sir Edward writes on the 20th February 1570: "The army must be kept here and must be cessed, so that it is as hard for subjects as for rebels."

"Shane Bourke MacOliverus, who now standeth to be MacWilliam Ewter, being exclaimed upon to his face by a poor widow of his country being undone by his rebellious practices in maintaining the Scots, he fell in a study, and after some pause, said openly: 'I am in a miserable case. If we stand out altogether and maintain Scots for our own defence, I see the destruction of the country. Again, if I shall take upon me the name of MacWilliam, I shall be driven for maintenance thereof to spoil it myself. And if we shall submit ourselves to the English nation, they will be as burthensome as MacWilliam or Scots.'"

Again, on 20th May 1571: "The cess is very heavy, but soldiers must be kept, as they are always wanted on a sudden. If the queen's victualler would furnish supplies for soldiers in every province, the service would be no worse and the people would be less oppressed, and, as men of experience think, their good will might be soon obtained. Yet they will not for a time really consent to abandon old customs, but must be kept in fear."[1]

As a revenue was raised by degrees by tributes or rents imposed on the chieftains, the cess must have become less and less, used only on occasion, and thus return was given for payments, until at last the whole province was brought to agree to the annual rents needed as a substitute for the cess. But this took time.

Lord Thomond's rebellion in February 1570 forced Fitton to retire into Galway and ask for help. The course of events is obscure, but Fitton remained there for some time, and the Lower Bourkes rose in rebellion. They did not submit when Lord Thomond fled. Fitton marched against them in June, and began by laying siege to the castle of Shrule. With him were Lord Clanricard and others of Galway, about five hundred Gallowglasses of Clan Donnell of Leinster, of Clan Sweeny, and of Clan Dowell, some artillery, three hundred cavalry, and some English foot bands. Feragh MacDonnell of Clooneen and Richard Barrett of Kyrennan were with him. The

[1] *S.P.I.E.*, XXXI. 6, XXXI. 39.

latter probably joined him rather from hate of the Tirawley Bourkes than from love of the queen and her government.

MacWilliam assembled his forces, in which were the sons of Oliverus, Sleight Meyler Bourke, the Clan Donnells, and some O'Flahertys. Though Sir Morogh is mentioned, he is not likely to have been with them, as he had been set up by the queen as O'Flaherty in 1569. The lawful O'Flaherty or another may have been mistaken for him. MacWilliam's brother, Walter Cluas le Doinin, "Ear to Storm," was the principal commander of the Bourkes.

The English and Irish accounts of the battle agree substantially.

On the 21st June the Bourkes occupied a hill near the English camp, and formed themselves into compact bodies for the assault, dismounting their cavalry.

Fitton drew up his men with the Gallowglasses in one body, and the cavalry in reserve.

The charge of the Bourkes was received with a volley of shot, which did not stop them. In the close fighting Sir Edward Fitton and Captain Bassenet were unhorsed and wounded. Patrick Cusack and Calvagh MacDonnell, constable of the queen's Gallowglasses, those of Leinster, and others were slain. The Bourkes were driven back by the English companies, but the Gallowglasses, except one hundred of Clan Sweeny, broke and fled, pursued by the Bourkes for about two miles. Fitton's cavalry and some infantry fell on the rear of the Bourkes, whose commanders stopped the pursuit and faced the English; they did not attack again, but drew off their forces.

Fitton lost about twelve Englishmen and forty Irish. The Bourkes lost about three hundred, including Walter Bourke, Randall, son of MacDonnell Gallowglass, two constables of the Clan Donnell of Scotland, and two sons of John Erenagh, O'Kelly of Donamona.[a]

Owing to want of powder Fitton could not pursue the Bourkes into their country, whereby they were encouraged, instead of being depressed by defeat, for they had in fact saved their country from invasion. He was not molested again, took the castle, and put the garrison to the sword. A guard of ten horsemen was left in it under Alexander, a Gallowglass, but Lord Clanricard soon undertook to guard the castle at his own expense. This affair relieved the pressure on Fitton's forces, which had been so great that Captain Collyer and others sent to help him had been reported to be little better than besieged in Galway.

MacWilliam soon submitted and made peace. An undated Fiant grants pardons to him and to his sons Richard Og and Thomas Roe and others, including three O'Flahertys, on payment of fines of £3 each; and another gives pardons to Walter and William Bourke MacShane of Cloghans and to Walter's son Meiler and to Edmond

MacThomas an Machaire on payment of fines of £1 each, for whom Edmund FitzAlexander, the sheriff of the county, was security. Edmond Bourke of Castlebar had a pardon in December. All had to give security within six months for keeping the peace and attending sessions.

This rebellion was wound up by an agreement of the Lower Bourkes to pay a yearly rent of 200 marks to the queen.

Richard Bourke died at the end of the year. When he became MacWilliam he was an independent prince, owning but a nominal subordination and submission to the queen, whose laws were not enforced in his territories. Before he died the English law was introduced with his consent, and was administered to a small extent by the queen's representative independently of him. The queen's power afterwards fluctuated, occasionally disappeared, but on the whole grew steadily.

Now follows a period of transition from the local sovereignty of the chief lords to that of the queen and the establishment of her government as the source of law and the maintainer of order. As regards Mayo, it may be described as a period of unrest, but generally peaceful. It was known that the government intended to make great changes, and, as it became known that those changes might involve changes in ownership of lands and ignoring of existing tenures, the minds of all landowners must have been affected by grave suspicions, creating a readiness to join in any enterprise that might relieve them of this danger. Most of the chief lords seem to have desired the introduction of a strong government capable of steady administration, but many of less importance, their subjects, resented any change. The chiefs could not control those who chose to join in a rebellion on their own account. They could only abstain and keep back those who chose to act with them, who were the majority in most cases. The forces at the disposal of the governor of Connaught were not enough to enable him always to act at once and crush out the beginning of rebellion. The rebels made war by plundering those who did not join them. MacWilliam and other lords therefore acted upon a sound judgment of the interests of the mass of their subjects in joining rebels who made head, whereby they saved their territories from injury. When the governor came in force they could submit immediately, and gain pardons at the cost of small sums, far less than the losses which would have been incurred in holding out against the rebels and suffering the destruction which would have been caused by the rebels before forces were collected to drive them out of the country, losses which would not have been made good to them afterwards. The sympathies of many of their subjects, if not their own, would be with the rebels.

Moreover, the uncertainty regarding the succession of the seigniories was another cause of unrest. The government was naturally anxious to secure a friendly successor. The Tanist did not feel sure that he would be allowed to succeed without interference. The country had seen the queen set up Murrough ne Doe O'Flaherty as chief of Iar-Connaught against the lawful chief, Donnell Crone O'Flaherty, in 1569.

Through all this the government was making way. Mayo was fully organised as a county, and a separate sheriff was established. Seigniories were surrendered, and taken back from the Crown. The chief gentlemen were induced to enter into agreements called compositions, under which they consented to pay a fixed rent based on the acreage of cultivated land to mitigate the weight of cess, which was a necessity, until a revenue should be provided. As Fitton says, it was intolerable, but soldiers could not be maintained without it. It was a custom of the country, but no longer suitable.

JOHN II., 1571–1580.

About the 8th February 1571, John, known as Shane MacOliverus, was made MacWilliam. It was reported then that he was engaging Scots. It was a natural course to maintain his succession and the position of his subjects and allies in view of the action which Fitton soon reported, and which had probably become well known. On the 9th March Fitton wrote that they had indicted all the gentlemen of Eighter Connaught and all their freeholders, and O'Conor Donn and MacDermot, and expressed a hope to have half Connaught at the queen's disposal in Easter term. This design was brought to naught by the rebellion, which was probably in some measure due to it.

In May the Lower Bourkes agreed to pay 200 marks yearly as a fine for their late great rebellion.

Operations in Roscommon occupied Fitton during the summer. MacWilliam and his people held aloof, but his sons invaded Galway at the end of September, and were hunted out by the sheriff, who pursued them to a ford beyond Shrule, and killed five or six score.

Fitton went into South Mayo, and was there for five days, at the end of October and beginning of September. He had his own band, Captain Collier's band of foot, and Malbie's horse, and was accompanied by Lords Clanricard and Thomond. One castle was defended, but being taken and the ward of twelve men being slain, the wards of the other castles abandoned them and the Bourkes themselves fled from the country. Fitton therefore laid it waste over an extent of about sixteen miles long and as many or more broad, destroying

about £500 worth of corn. Nineteen towns and castles are said to have been taken, whereof a list is given. Those which are known for certain are given in modern spelling—Ballinrobe, Ballenemask, Manegerrelough, Cloonagashel, Robeen, Bellanalube, Cregduff, Ballakinoshine, Cloghan (warded by the Earl of Clanricard), Killernan (warded by John Bourke), Downerage, The Neale, Donka, Athard, Liskillen, Cloghan-Erle (warded by the Earl of Clanricard), Ballenekinie, Kilnanardra.[1] The list is very roughly written. Manegerrelough seems to be Rathnegarlogy or Ranegarlogy, name of land held by Bourke of Cloghan in seventeenth century, which was in a bally called Cloongawnagh. It may be a name of the castle of Garrymore or Carras; it was certainly thereabouts. Fitton then gave out that he would go home, and sent away all but his English forces. With these he made a forced march into the country of the MacDermots, whom he handled severely.

This scourging brought about a submission. The indictments were abandoned. Lord Clanricard and his sons, Ulick and John, and MacWilliam, and the gentlemen of Clare and Galway and Mayo, attended a sessions at Galway in March 1572.

Unfortunately suspicions arose in the minds of the earl's sons, who fled from the town, summoned their adherents, and went into rebellion. Fitton carried Lord Clanricard away to Dublin. He was not able to take the field until May. He reached Galway on the 10th, where he hanged four pledges of the rebels. On the 14th he attacked the castle of Clare Galway, which he describes as the castle of those who betrayed Shane MacOliverus. He lost four men and a mason killed, but the garrison surrendered and the castle was seized on the 17th. The garrison, sixteen men, besides women and children, were put to the sword except one. He sent to Shane MacOliverus the head of his betrayer, and arranged payment of his ransom. The inference to be drawn from this is that the occupiers of the castle had joined in seizing John when he was going home after the sessions, and held him until he paid a ransom.

At this time Fitton expected that the Lower Bourkes would not go against him. The expectation was no doubt just. But Fitton was too weak to prosecute the rebels under the earl's sons, who destroyed all Connaught that did not join them. The earl's sons therefore obtained MacWilliam's adhesion in June, and they and MacWilliam and Justin MacDonnell went to Munster to help James FitzMaurice in his rebellion. The lord deputy made a hosting, and drove them out of Munster.

In the autumn Lord Clanricard was released to act against his sons, who begged for mercy on 9th November. MacWilliam also

[1] *S.P.I.E.*, vol. XXXIV. No. 15.

desired to submit. In the middle of December the rebel forces dispersed. The earl's sons and their adherents had attained their chief object, their own safety and his release, and immunity from punishment for themselves and their adherents. John had saved his country, which was left in peace until 1576.

This peace was utilised to further the county organisation. The results are embodied in a paper called the Division of Connaught and Thomond, dated 27th March 1574.[1] It is said to have been made partly by the president and council of Connaught, where they had travelled, and partly by Sir Thomas Cusack and other commissioners. It embodies the results of the rough surveys which had been made from time to time. As might be expected, the county of Galway is dealt with in most detail. The part relating to Mayo is less full, and the description of the county of Sligo is a mere sketch of territories. It is but a development of the division of 1570.

Thomond became the county of Clare. Galway was much as it is, save that it included Ballymoe in Roscommon as part of MacDavid's lands, and Moycarn as part of Clanmacnowen, and did not include the barony of Ross. Roscommon was as it is, less Ballymoe and Moycarn. Mayo comprised the territories which were under MacWilliam Eighter. The county of Sligo comprised the present county and the O'Rourk territory, the present county of Leitrim; but Ardnarea estate was in Mayo.

The following extract shows how the baronies of the Co. Mayo were now formed. The spelling is modernised, or put in Irish form as far as possible.

"The County of Mayo—containing Eighter Connaught and such other countries as are under MacWilliam Eighter, and are divided into baronies to be named as followeth, but the same county is not yet divided into ploughlands, by reason whereof the parishes could not be put in order of the baronies, but are written by themselves.

"Baronies: Crossboyne, containing MacMaurice's country;

"Kilmaine, containing Conmacnecuile and Iochtar Thire, in which William Burke Fitzjohn, Edmond Burke MacThomas Vaghery, and the clan Jonyns are chief;

"Ross, containing the Joyes', the Walshes', and Partriches' lands, MacThomas and MacTybod chief;

"Murrisk, containing Owle Imale and the lands,[2] viz., Inishturk and Inishark, Cliara and Aukilles,[3] O'Malley chief;

"Burris, containing Owle Clan Philipin, Owle Eighter, and Sliocht MacTybbot's lands, Richard an Iarainn chief;

"Invermore, containing Erris and Dundonnell, MacWattin chief;

[1] Lambeth Library, Carew MSS. vol. 611, f. 234.
[2] Islands (?). [3] Clare Island and Achill.

"Moyne, containing Tirawley and the Cusacks' country, John MacOliverus, otherwise MacWilliam, and MacWattin, called Baron Barrett, chief;

"Burriscarra, containing Clancuan, Carra and Muinter Crechain, MacWilliam Burke, and MacPhilipin, chief;

"Bellalahen, containing Gallenga, MacJordan, otherwise Baron Dexeter, chief;

"Bellahaunis, containing Clan Costello, MacCostello, otherwise Baron Nangle, chief."

The barony of Ross was treated as part of Iar-Connaught in the composition, as in the lordship of O'Flaherty, to whom the castle and lands of Ross had been given as an eric. The "Historia et Genealogia Familiæ de Burgo" omits it from the territories owing allegiance and tribute to MacWilliam. The arrangement was made before 1570, but the barony was considered to be in MacWilliam's country, held under him by O'Flaherty. The Partry portion was still earlier transferred to Carra.

Sir H. Sidney came again as lord deputy at the end of 1575, to endeavour to induce the lords to receive sheriffs and to surrender their Irish tenures and take back their lands by the queen's patent, to descend by hereditary succession according to English law. This object was attained in Connaught by degrees.

A letter[1] of Sir E. Fitton shows the state of Connaught at this time, and explains the willingness of the country to accept Sir H. Sidney's proposals, which gave a hope of peace and ease:—

"I may (after the common manner of Ireland) say it is quiet, because we hear of no professed rebellion against the State; but if universal oppression of the mean folk by the great; if murders, robberies and burning make an ill Commonweal, if extorting of Government into subjects hands by violent plaguing of such as be both willing and of ability to live upon themselves without seeking to any but Her Majesty and the Laws; to conclude, if contempt and not performance of all orders sent either by the Lord Deputy or us Commissioners there, and if ill, or not answering at all of any revenue due to Her Majesty be proofs of disobedience: then I cannot say Connaught is in good case. But leaving both the time and manner of amendment to God and Her Majesty, I cease to trouble your Lordship any further therewith, omitting to say anything at all of God or good life. Only the Kellys yet stick as well as they may, and as Nicodemus came to Christ by night, so do those Kellys which dwell by west the Suck, most of them come to us as privily as they can, for fear both of displeasure and trapping by the way. But those between Suck and Shannon, neighbours to Athlone, are in meetly good case, and the

[1] *S.P.I.E.*, XL. 11; 5th Jan. 1575.

better for that some part of the Garrison hath lien at Athlone good part of the Summer, which hath both feared them from doing so much ill as they would, and also preserved them from others: which two points, till both they and others taste of at full, as they (God wot) feel yet but a little, obedience can in no reason be looked for."

Sidney came to Galway in March 1576, and left on the 22nd for Athlone. Though he was not long in Connaught, he had prepared the Connaught lords by sending Thomas Jones, afterwards Bishop of Meath, to sound them regarding his proposals while he was in Munster.

Sidney's account of the state of things in Connaught makes intelligible the readiness of the chieftains to accept a supremacy which promised them peace. Unfortunately the Provincial Government was not made strong enough to hunt down and hang rebels at once. The country was ruined by petty rebellions of men like Lord Clanricard's sons, who could rob, burn, and destroy until additional forces were collected. In extremity they got pardons on terms of bare submission. The rebellions were never general, and were suppressed very much with the help of the local gentry as soon as a force came into Connaught strong enough to enable them to act. The Governors of Connaught always had willing assistance. But the leaders of the mischief were not punished. Sidney hanged many malefactors at Galway on this occasion, but later on the great rebels, whose execution would have quieted the country and protected honest men, were gently dealt with.

As regards Mayo chiefs, his own words,[1] in modern spelling, are as follows:—

"Out of the county of Mayo, came to me to Galway, first seven principal men of the Clandonnells, for every of their several Lineages one, of that surname, and inhabiting that County, all, by profession, mercenary Soldiers, by the name of Galloglas; they are very strong, and much of the wealth of the country is under them; they are able to go where they will, and with the Countenance of any mean Lord of Force, to make war with the Greatest. These humbly submitted themselves, and their several Lineages to her Majesty, protesting, by oath, and binding themselves by Indenture and Hostage, never to serve any, but with Allowance of the Governor. Troth it is, I was informed by Divers Advertisements, that MacWilliam Ewghter would not come to me; and therefore I drew this Plot, that I won his chief Force from him, in getting these Clandonnells: But it fell out otherwise in the End, for MacWilliam very willingly came himself; and much the rather, by the good Persuasions, and Means of the Dean of Christchurch, one of this council, whom I sent into Connaught, when

[1] Carew MSS. II., No. 38 of 1576; *S.P.I.E.*, LV. 34, 27th April 1576.

I went into Munster, only to sound the Disposition of the Potentates, and great ones of that Province; and therein he did good service, and surely so he is well able, both for his own skill, and the credit that others repose in him; if it please your Lordships to bestow a thankful letter upon him, it will be very comfortable to the old Man, which I humbly beseech your Lordships to do. I found MacWilliam very sensible, though wanting the English tongue, yet understanding the Latin; a lover of Quiet and Civility, desirous to hold his Lands of the Queen, and suppress Irish Extortion, and to expulse the Scots, who swarm in those quarters, and indeed have almost suppressed them; in some Proof whereof he tarried with me, most of the Time I remained at Galway, and thence went with me to Athlone, and departed not till I went from thence, when very reverently, by Oath, he shewed his fealty, and did his Homage, as Humbly binding himself, as well by Oath or Indenture, ever hereafter to hold his Lands of her Majesty, and her Crown, and to pay yearly two hundred and fifty Marks Sterling, and to find two hundred Soldiers, Horsemen and Footmen, for two Months by the Year; and to give them Food in that Proportion, as I trust, in Time, shall suffice both for their Meat and Wages. In one of his Petitions exhibited unto me, he humbly besought (doubting that I would have taken away the Bonnaught from the Clandonnells, which they have of him and his country) that they might (withdrawing it from him) hold it of the Queen. This Device was underhand practised by me, and they, very glad of this Overture made by him, humbly desired to hold it of her Majesty, and so, by Indenture passed between the Galloglas and the Queen, they presently do. This, my Lords, is an entrance of no small Consequence, both for the reducing of the Country to her Majesty's Obedience, and no small Increase may be made besides to her Commodity, and the Augmentation of her Revenue. He received his Country at my Hands, by Way of Seneschalship, which he thankfully accepted. The Order of Knighthood I bestowed upon him, whereof he seemed very joyous, and some other little Trifles I gave him, as tokens between him and me, wherewith very well satisfied, he departed. This is all I thought necessary to write of MacWilliam, saving that he was desirous I should send thither an English sheriff, as I have likewise done in all the other Counties within that Province, which, of late, hath been omitted: MacWilliam protested he would obey him I sent, and give him Finding for a sufficient Strength of Men on Horseback and Foot; which I accomplished according to his Desire, and sent one with him. Surely, my Lords, he is well won, for he is a great man; his Land lieth along the West North West Coast of this Realm, wherein he hath many goodly Havens, and is a Lord in Territory of three times so much Land as the Earl of Clanricarde is.

"He brought with him all his Brethren, MacPhillippin, who in Surname is a Bourke, as he is; and, besides them, a great Number of Owners of Lands and Castles, lying in the same country: Omaylle came likewise with him, who is an original Irish Man, strong in galleys and Seamen; he earnestly sued to hold of the Queen, and to pay her Rent and Service. At that instant were also with me MacPhaten, of English surname, Barrett; MacIvyle, of English surname, Staunton; MacJordan, of the like Dexter, MacCustelo of the like Nangle, MacMorris, of English surname, Prendergast; and these V show Matter of some Record and Credit, that they have not only been English, which every man confesseth, but also Lords and Barons in Parliament, as they themselves affirm; and surely they have Lands sufficient for Barons, if they might wield their own quietly; but so bare, barbarous Barons are they now, as they V have not three Hackneys to carry them and their Train Home. There were with me many more of lower Degree, and no deeper of Wealth, as the Chiefs of Clanandros, and MacThomyn; both they, and many more Barretts, Cusackes, Lynches (Lynots?), and of sundry English surnames, now degenerate, and all lamenting their Devastation, and with one Consent crying for Justice and English Government, in so miserable (and yet magnanimous) Manner, as it would make an English Heart to feel Compassion with them; and thus for the County of Mayo."

The lords and gentlemen of Galway and Roscommon are described as showing a like desire for the introduction of government amongst them.

Soon after this Sir John was made seneschal of his nation and of his tenants and followers, and of his and their lands in Connaught, with authority to call the inhabitants to arms and to preserve the peace and to administer justice; for life during good behaviour. This was followed by the appointment of minor and subject lords to be seneschals of their own lands, as Moyler Burke of Cloghans to be seneschal of the barony of Kilmaine, O'Malley to be seneschal of the barony of Oulymaley, Thomas Keaghe Burke to be seneschal of his country called Moyntercreghan. Thus it was, I suppose, thought to accustom them to the idea of dependence on the Crown.

The earl's sons were taken to Dublin and released on parole not to cross the Shannon. At the end of June they broke their parole, went into Connaught and raised a rebellion. At the end of July Nicholas Malbie was sent from England to take charge of Connaught. On the 13th August Sidney reported that 2000 Scots had joined them and were wasting Connaught. MacWilliam stood by his engagements. The rebels under Ulick Burke therefore invaded his country, laid it waste and took his castles. But he continued to do his best against

them, though his own gallowglasses turned against him and spoiled his country.

Sidney came to Connaught. On the 21st September he left Galway and marched by Shrule to Castlebar, which was already besieged by a force which he had sent in advance. The castle was held by the sons of Edmund Bourke. Their mother came to get terms for her sons, which Sidney refused. But he allowed her to speak with them. They escaped in the dark. Meanwhile MacWilliam had surprised the Scots, who had collected their plunder in a place five or six miles away. They ran away and left their prey. MacWilliam then joined Sidney, who put him in possession of Castlebar, to be kept for the queen's use, and of other castles of which he had been dispossessed.

Sidney intended to go on to Sligo, but the Moy was in flood, and he had no boats and his soldiers were tired. Moreover O'Conor and his Clandonnells came thence with the rest of that country, and the Scots had fled, abandoning Ulick Burke, who joined his brother in Galway. So Sidney returned to Dublin, leaving Sir N. Malbie in charge of Connaught, with the title of Colonel and Chief Commissioner, with certain forces and the castles of Athlone and Roscommon as garrisons.

According to a deposition made before Malbie by Richard Og Bourke, son of Richard, son of John of the Termon, Lord Clanricard had sent him to engage 10,000 Scots, if possible, for this rebellion. The earl was sent to London. His sons surrendered in March 1577, escaping punishment.

In his narrative, written in 1583, Sidney writes that when he reached Galway on this occasion, "There came to me also a most famous feminine sea captain called Grany Imallye, and offered her service unto me, wheresoever I would command her, with three galleys and 200 fighting men, either in Ireland or Scotland; she brought with her her husband, for she was as well by sea as by land more than Mrs. Mate with him; he was of the Nether Burkes, and now as I hear Mack William Euter, and called by nickname Richard in Iron. This was a notorious woman in all the coasts of Ireland."

She went to the south in the following year. When the Lord Justice Drury went into Munster in November 1578, he wrote that when he was at Leighlin, "To that place was brought unto me Granie ny Maille, a woman of the province of Connaught, governing a country of the O'Flaharteys', famous for her stoutness of courage and person, and for sundry exploits done by her by sea. She was taken by the Earl of Desmond a year and a half ago, and has remained ever since partly with him and partly in Her Majesty's gaol of Limerick, and was sent for now by me to come to Dublin, where she is yet remaining."[1] It does not appear what she had done, but in July 1578

[1] Cal. Carew MSS. II., 1578, No. 109.

she was called a notorious offender. This is her first appearance in history.

MacWilliam joined Malbie in an expedition in 1577, in which Bundrowes was taken from O'Donnell and given to O'Conor Sligo. O'Donnell invaded Sligo and killed the sheriff, Richard, son of Tibbot Boy MacSeonin.

In 1578 Meiler, son of Walter, son of John of the Termon, Sheriff of Mayo, was killed in a night attack on the Neale Castle by his cousin Edmond, son of Thomas an Machaire, in consequence of a quarrel the day before.

The queen's instructions to Sir N. Malbie in March 1579 for his government of Connaught desire him to persuade, if he can, but not to constrain, the people of each county to build a walled town as a safe and suitable place for keeping the assizes and sessions, and authorised the issue of a charter of incorporation with the liberties usually granted in such cases elsewhere. A draft in Walsingham's hand contains clauses, omitted finally, showing an intention to grant to Sir John Bourke an earldom for life, and to his son and his heirs a barony with estates, according to English law, of so much as was their own.

In July 1579 Malbie reported Connaught to be in a good state. MacWilliam attended sessions at Galway, thereby showing loyalty and a disposition to support the administration of the law. He sent his son William to be brought up under Walsingham at the Queen's Court, with a letter from Malbie, who described William as Sir John's only legitimate son.

Sir James FitzMaurice landed at Smerwick on the 18th July, and wrote to Justin MacDonnell and to Randall MacColla MacDonnell, asking them to come with as many gallowglasses as they can get.

In August Connaught supplied 600 English and Irish well furnished, and had 1000 more ready to come with MacWilliam. Even in September Malbie was able to report that none in Connaught would promise anything to Sir James. When the Earl of Desmond rebelled he also sought help, but got none except from Richard an Iarainn, whose rising made Malbie return from Munster. His relation of his proceedings is here abstracted, or given in inverted commas, as it is one of the very few detailed accounts we have of the work of suppressing a petty rising. Richard had very little help except from the weak clans of the mountainy country and the Clandonnells.

The Earl of Desmond sought to raise up trouble in Connaught, and he and Dr. Sandars wrote to MacWilliam and to Lord Clanricard's sons, to Richard an Iarainn, next in authority to MacWilliam, to Clandonnells and MacSwynes, urging them to join the rebellion for

sake of church and country. None would join, and some even sent Malbie the letters, except Richard an Iarainn, who trusted to the strength of his remote country in the north-west "environed with woods, bogs, and mountains, where (to any man's memory) no English Governor hath been at any time, and encouraged the Clandonnells to give the English occupation. These Clandonnells were accounted always an invincible people, and the most strongest sept of Galloglas in Ireland, and the only men of force in Connaught. Richard In Yeren, having thus won the Clandonnells, joined unto him also the O'Mayles, Clangibbons, Ulick Bourke's sept, and certain of the O'Flaherties, whereby he thought himself very strong."

Richard failed to hire Scots from the Isles, but got 100 bows from Ulster. He took his forces first into O'Kelly's and Lord Athenry's countries, and then with 1000 men plundered Moylurg. Malbie, having returned from Munster, arranged with O'Conor Sligo and O'Rourk that they should prevent Scots from landing or coming from Ulster, and should turn them out of their countries. He did not call up the rising out, but relied on the two bands of foot who were in the province, and on 100 horsemen and 400 foot, English of the Pale and others who had served before, who were to have their pay and expenses from the countries of the rebels. After a delay of three weeks, caused by his being called to Dublin, he started from Athlone on the 6th February 1580, and went to Athenry, whence he sent on the captains of his forces to take Richard's plunder before his arrival. The Archbishop of Tuam and Lord Athenry met him at Shrule on the 11th, and accompanied him the rest of the way. On the 12th he marched to Liskillen, where Thomas Roe Bourke and Justin MacDonnell, two of Richard's chief confederates, came without protection and submitted. On the same day a party of his men entered MacDonnell's country, and brought two hundred cows to camp.

"The 13th I moved from Liskillen to MacDonnell's castle called Clooneen; I caused the castle to be sapped by masons which I brought for that purpose, and, the castle being ready to be overthrown, MacDonnell's friends entreated that he might be received to favour, and at their request I was content to speak with him, after which conference the said MacDonnell delivered one of his sons to my hands as a pledge for his good behaviour and observation of the peace for himself and his sept, and for satisfying all former hurts and spoils by him and his men committed upon all or any of Her Majesty's subjects, and to restore unto them by my order, all such goods and cattle as they took from them, whereby all the galloglass of the Clandonnells were plucked from Richard an Iarainn. After this conclusion I rested the next day, being the 14th February, at MacDonnell's castle.

"The 15th I removed to the fields near Ballintubber, where MacWilliam and his men, with the chief gentlemen of the country, came to me and joined their forces with my company.

"This day the forces which I have entertained took the strong castle of Donamona from Shane McHubert, called Parson of the same, chief counsellor to Richard an Iarainn, and put the ward, both men, women, and children, to the sword, whereupon all the other castles in the enemy's country were given up without any resistance.

"The 16th I removed to Ballyknock, whither Grainne ni Maille and certain of her kinsmen came to me.

"The 17th I removed to Burrishoole, an abbey standing very pleasant upon a river side, within three miles from the sea, where a ship of five hundred tons may lie at anchor at low water. It hath a goodly and large lough on the upper part of the river, full of great timber, grey marble, and many other commodities of all sides, not without great store of good ground, both arable land and pasture. Specially it hath a very plentiful iron mine and abundance of wood every way. Towards the sea coast there lieth many fair islands, rich and plentiful of all commodities; there cometh hither every year likely about fifty English ships for fishing; they have been before this time compelled to pay a great tribute to the O'Malleys, which I have forbidden hereafter till Her Majesty's pleasure be known. It is accounted one of the best fishing places in Ireland for salmon, herring, and all kinds of sea fish.

"Richard an Iarainn, considering that the Clandonnells forsook him, and that he was narrowly persecuted by me and my companions on all parts of the country, not being able to keep the field nor make any other resistance, abandoned the country, and fled into the islands with his Scots and some gentlemen of his retinue.

"This day I took order that the abbey of Burrishoole aforesaid should be fortified and strengthened, and that all the castles of the country standing upon straits, should be warded and kept for Her Majesty, and that a captain with one hundred men should lie in garrison at Burrishoole Abbey, and all this to be done without any charge to Her Majesty. MacWilliam also, and his brother Richard MacOliverus Bourke and the chief gentlemen of the country, having considered the great benefit and commodity which might grow to the whole country if a walled town were built and erected at Burris, made humble request unto me to be a mean for them to Her Majesty for the building of a town there, as by their petition exhibited unto me doth appear, and MacWilliam not only promised that his country should contribute to the same, but also made gift to Her Highness of seventeen quarters of land joining to it. I promised to move the matter, and would take no knowledge upon me that I had any order

for it before from Her Majesty, because I would have it come of themselves.

"The 18th Richard an Iarainn sent unto me to receive him to favour, and that he would put in his pledge and abide my order in all things, whereupon I appointed the Baron of Athenry to go and speak with him, who found him very reasonable, and both sorry for what he hath done, and willing to make the best amends he could, so as upon his report I was content he should come and speak with me, but the wind blew so great as in six days he could not come out of the islands, during which time he sustained great misery by hunger and cold, whereby one hundred of his people were dead and starved within the islands.

"This day the force which I entertained took a great prey out of the Owles from the O'Malleys and Clangibbons, whereupon they came to me immediately and submitted themselves. The 19th I sent a number of men to the isles of Achill for boats to set upon the islands, but the tempest was so great as they could do nothing.

"And for that Richard an Iarainn's chief confederates forsook him, and were at my commandment, and that he himself was to come to me, I thought good to return home, leaving a sufficient force in the country to withstand all attempts. I left order with the captain of Burris to take and receive Richard's pledge in my absence, being provoked the rather to return, for that the Lord Justice commanded me to . . . met him there [Limerick] about the beginning of March.

"And so leaving the country in meetly good quiet, and having thoroughly suppressed the said rebellion, I departed Burrishoole the 20th of February and came homeward. This day the storm and tempest was so great, and the snow fallen in such abundance, as scarce any soldier could travel, the vehemence whereof drew swine, sheep, lambs, and other small cattle from the woods to the camp for succour against the weather, which greatly refreshed us, being in some want of victuals a day or two before."[1]

Malbie reached Galway on the 24th, rested two days, and sent by sea provision for the garrison of Burris. On the 18th March, being at Quin on his return from Limerick, he received from the captain of Burris Richard's letter of submission and a report that Richard and his chief confederates had given their best pledges. This affair was at an end as far as Mayo was concerned.

In June Malbie reported that MacCostello had given Mr. Theobald Dillon Castlemore and a great portion of land, with the consent of his clan, as a free gift to induce him to settle among them, and on account of the ancient common descent of the Dillons and MacCostellos. The real object was to secure the help of an Englishman, who

[1] *S.P.I.E.*, vol. LXXII., No. 39.

would bring others in and strengthen the clan. Though Dillon by degrees acquired more land until he got a great part of the barony into his hands, they did, I think, gain strength by his presence and his followers.

MacWilliam had now made up his mind to go to England to do his duty to the queen. But he never went.

When O'Rourk rebelled at the end of August, Walter Fada's sons joined O'Conor Roe and some O'Kellys in an attack on MacDavid's country, which was repelled. Otherwise the Mayo men kept the peace.

Sir John Bourke died at the end of November. He seems to have deserved the character given by the "Four Masters"—"A munificent and very affluent man, who preferred peace to the most successful war, and who always sided with the sovereign," save that he did not always, but nearly always, side with the sovereign.

Richard an Iarainn was Tanist, but Sir John's brother Richard disputed the succession, as he had formerly disputed the Tanistship. The former took up arms, and engaged Scots and made preparations to defend his rights against the queen if necessary. Matters came to a head in February, when Malbie arranged to deal with the affair. A long report from Sir N. Malbie gives the particulars of the expedition. As a good account of such an expedition, and the dealings with the chieftains, and the operations of war, the following abstract, with parts in full, is given.

The Earl of Clanricard's sons confederated with Richard an Iarainn. John Burke arranged the Hill of Doonlaur, three miles from Shrule, as a general meeting-place for all the allies, on the 1st March. Malbie set out from Athlone, and encamped one mile from Doonlaur on the appointed day, occupying certain fords to keep the earl's sons from joining. Richard and his forces were six miles off. Scouts sent to ascertain the site of Richard's camp were seen by Richard's men. I now continue the abstract in the first person, as Malbie wrote.

"Richard's Scots thought he and the Clandonnells had betrayed them to me as I had come so near unknown to them. They retired to a fastness in Clanmorris. The Clandonnells and Richard's men thought the earl's sons had betrayed them. They all scattered to shift their cattle and goods away from me.

"The 2nd March I went forward to camp in Richard's country to spoil it. By the way Richard Og, son of late MacWilliam, came to me to beg me to spare Richard's country until Richard should come to me, and asked a safe-conduct in writing for Richard, which I gave. Next morning Richard Og came again, saying Richard Inyren required to have Captain Brabazon sent to him as a pledge for his safe

return. I told him I would first see Richard hanged before I would do that dishonour to Her Majesty, and that if he did once utter any word again in any such matter, he should have no peace at my hands, but all extremity with fire and sword, and that also if he did not assure me before that night of his coming to me, I would begin the next morning with the town[1] I then lay in, which was Marcus MacYnabbe's town, Chief of the Clandonnells. He departed in haste, and that evening returned to me bringing with him Feris[2] MacDonnell, chief son to the late MacDonnell, who declared unto me that MacWilliam had sent them to assure me that he would come to me in the morning and would submit himself to my pleasure. I told them there was no MacWilliam, nor none should be but through Her Majesty's assignment and authority, and if they had anything to say from Richard Inyren I was ready to give them audience.

"They renounced that title, and proceeded in Richard's name. They asked that Captain Brabazon and some other gentlemen of the camp be sent to conduct Richard to the camp, for fear of the soldiers, which I did. He came in great fear. I reassured him, and required the causes of his raising war, levying forces, and paying Scots. He answered that, when MacWilliam died and the Lordship of right descended to him, sundry friends, and especially the earl's sons, informed him that I intended to set up his enemy Richard MacOliverus. I told him he should have ascertained my intentions before making war, and that I was no enemy to him, but my duty was to uphold every man in his right, &c.

"He said he really had hoped for mercy, and intended to submit. I said he must deserve it by service to Her Majesty. He said he would do anything in his power. I said, expel the Scots. He asked my help, which I promised.

"He sent to ascertain their camp, which was in a fastness under a high mountain.[3] Next morning I sent on about one hundred horsemen to discover their camp, and followed with the foot and Captain Brabazon's horsemen. The Scots skirmished with the horse until I came up, and then fled to the woods. We killed nine or ten.

"Richard Inyren's son joined us from a lake in the neighbourhood. He was given some men, who drove the Scots through the wood as there were six miles of plain on the other side. I and the rest passed over the high mountains.[4] When the Scots were passing the plain we kept them in sight, but lost ground, having to go round bogs which they crossed. At last we came up with them at the Moy, where

[1] Probably Moelle Castle at Hollymount House, occupied by Marcus in 1574.
[2] Feragh (?).
[3] Probably on the west side of Slieve Carna.
[4] Either Slieve Carna or Knockspellagadaun.

they had sent over a ford, up to the chin, their baggage and half their men of war. I was first up by goodness of my horse, and with twenty men charged them, but by their shot and arrows they beat us back, and got over the ford and over a piece of hard ground an arrowshot wide, to a great bog which they sought as their place of safety.

"As they left the river we entered the ford, and they came back and we retired, and they fired some arrows and shot. And then, espying MacWilliam, they railed upon him and danced up and down, which was the thing I desired to continue until the loose footmen might come in. This occurred twice. Then they seemed to understand what I meant, and made off into the bog and thence to the great wood before my foot came up. They abandoned many sculls and bows, which my men picked up in following them.

"The Scots thereafter marched clean out of the province. They were about 600 men—180 horsemen, 180 targets, 100 long swords, the rest were darts, shot, and gallowglass axes, all as well appointed men as ever I saw for their faculty.

"I retired myself to the Abbey of Strade, which was about two miles. Here abundant supplies of food came in from the country.

"Next morning, I not expecting it, Richard Inyren himself came to me, and fell on his knees, most humbly beseeching the queen's pardon, and presenting his submission and petition in writing. I lectured him well on his duty, said the queen desired to give mercy to penitents, and told him to rise MacWilliam, declaring the queen sought only to maintain them in their rights, &c.

"I wrote to Richard MacOliverus to come, who came on the 7th without protection or any word from me, for he is a very honest gentleman.

"The two Richards began quarrelling at once. Richard MacOliverus called Richard Inyren a traitor. Richard Inyren said Richard MacOliverus lied. I ordered them both to be silent. They then argued their causes fairly. After dinner I saw Richard MacOliverus alone, who produced a letter of Sir H. Sidney promising him support, but it contained the clause Quousque. I explained to him that the right lay with MacWilliam, and must be supported by the queen, and he submitted to my judgment, and asked me to do what I could to save his credit. After consultation with Lord Bermingham and Teige MacWilliam O'Kelly, who were assistants with me in commission, and MacDavy and Richard Burke of Derrymaclaughney, who came on this service, Richard MacOliverus said he would fully acknowledge MacWilliam, if he as next senior were given the £40 chief rent due to MacWilliam out of Tirawley.

"MacWilliam flatly refused to give more than £20, which Richard

MacOliverus flatly refused. Then I arranged that I would give MacWilliam £20 of the queen's rent, and that he should give the £40 of himself to Richard, keeping my £20 secret. This was greatly approved by MacWilliam and my advisers, and accepted. So the two were made friends. Richard begged to be made sheriff. With MacWilliam's consent I made him. Richard is now very well contented.

"While seeking peace, during my absence the earl's son Ulick took O'Madden's Longford castle. So I hanged his pledge.

"MacWilliam raised 1200 gallowglasses, and had complete 800. Agreed to pay for 700 Scots, and had complete 600. Loose Kerne 300. Horsemen 20. The earl's sons and O'Briens reckoned 800 foot, 80 horse. I had not above 460 foot and 80 kerne, and between 160 and 180 horse.

"I required of MacWilliam as a fine for his nomination for Her Majesty 100 marks or 100 cows. He was very much pleased, and, though I refused at first, insisted on giving me 100 marks for myself, as he knew I was at charges for this journey. He kept one of my men to bring the money, whom I ordered to leave with him the £20 for Richard MacOliverus out of it.

"The charge per annum on MacWilliam's country for the Scots he engaged was at the rate of £16,800. They had to fly without pay."[1]

MacWilliam entered into a formal engagement on the 7th March at the Togher to banish Scots and rebels, and to pay the 100 marks before the 12th April. He made a good bargain, securing the succession at a low price, and getting rid of his Scots without payment.

Richard an Iarainn was knighted in September.

About April or May 1582 a fresh disturbance arose, which Malbie describes in a letter from Dublin on the 28th May.[2] "Connaught is well, saving lately that MacWilliam sending his officers with some of my horsemen to Richard MacOliverus, brother to the last MacWilliam, deceased, and to the sons of the said MacWilliam, to receive Her Majesty's rents in arrear, which was delivered unto them by the country for Her Majesty, the said Richard MacOliverus and his nephews quarrelled with the officers and slew some of them and three of my horsemen. Whereupon MacWilliam, taking the matter in grief, entered their country and slew a son of Richard MacOliverus, and a son of Edmond Bourke of Castlebar, and twenty more; certifying Captain Brabazon, that if he thought that not revenge enough, he would prosecute them more; upon which revenge Richard MacOliverus and his nephews put themselves in arms against Her Majesty. MacWilliam sent to Captain Brabazon to draw down towards him with his forces, who, calling the chief

[1] *S.P.I.E.*, vol. LXXXI. No. 42, i. [2] *S.P.I.E.*, vol. XCII. No. 89.

gentlemen of the province to him, was also advised by them to make head against the others in time; and so most willingly of themselves, with their forces, accompanied him." Captain Brabazon had 100 English foot, and 60 horse, and about 800 others, "all gentlemen of the country and their rising out." "It is given out that the evil dealing with the country people is the cause of their revolt; but I have used this Richard MacOliverus and his nephews in better sort than any. It is written to me that they are very well chastised already."

Walter Kittagh Bourke, Sir John's eldest son, had come in and submitted, and Brabazon had garrisoned the castles of Ardnarea and Meelick. Richard MacOliverus went to O'Donnell to get Scots. He failed, and returned in June.

An entry in the Annals of Loch Cé relates to this affair, and shows how it was regarded by the Irish Annalists. It seems as if Walter Fada's sons had invaded Tirawley on their own account. I take it that they were acting with MacWilliam, and that this is a note of a skirmish between their forces and those of a party of rebels. "The sons of Walter Fada went on an expedition into Tir-Amhalghaidh, and committed a depredation. The young men of the posterity of Rickard Burk overtook them in pursuit, and set upon them. The sons of Walter Fada turned against them, and the pursuers were routed by superior numbers at Mam-an-ghair, in Glenn-dubh, on the southern side of Neimhfin. Rickard, son of Edmond, son of Ulick of Caislen-an-Bharraigh, was killed there; and Edmond Allta, the son of Richard, son of Oliver, was also killed there. Ambrose, son of David Ban, and Oliver, son of John, son of David Ban, and a good many of their followers along with them, were severely wounded there."

Sir N. Malbie was rebuked when he was in England for having spent too much money. Therefore when the invasion in the summer led to a serious wasting of the country and increase of rebels, he did not put any charge upon the queen or the country to enable him to cope with it at once, but contented himself with using the garrison and the rising out of the loyal men.

Though Richard MacOliverus returned in June without Scots, he seems to have made some arrangement with O'Neill. Torlogh Lynagh sent Con O'Donnell to Connaught on the 3rd July with 1200 men, of whom 800 were Scots. They came as far as the walls of the Castle of Sligo, where an English garrison under O'Conor Sligo slew forty of them. O'Donnell plundered O'Conor Sligo's country of 2000 cows, and Walter Kittagh at the same time plundered all Tireragh. Malbie collected all the rising out of the country, and set out from Athlone soon after the 8th July with

100 English foot and 70 horse, and was back again on the 19th. Con, on hearing of his approach, fled in such haste that ten or twelve Scots were drowned in crossing the Erne, and most abandoned their baggage. Malbie had the country on his side, though his own force was small. Richard MacOliverus and Walter submitted on the 20th July, but MacWilliam and O'Conor Sligo warned Malbie that though there was not then a rebel in Connaught, he must expect the enemy to return in great force.

On the 28th October Malbie wrote from Galway that there was a great assembly of the nobility. ". . . William Burke, MacWilliam, Richard MacOliverus, Walter Bourke, Murrough ne Doe O'Flaherty . . . MacMaurice . . . and many gentlemen and their wives, among whom Greny O'Mally is one, and thinketh herself to be no small lady, are at present assembled to make a plat for continuing the quietness."[1]

William Bourke, Sir John's son, was made Sheriff of Sligo at the end of the year. According to the Four Masters, "Ulick Roe, son of Sir John, "was slain in the winter of this year by Thomas Wideos, a gentleman of the queen's people; and all said that he was not fairly slain."

In January of 1583 Theobald Dillon collected the composition rents, and arrangements were made for payment of large arrears.

Sir Richard an Iarainn died on the 3rd day of Easter, according to the Annals of Loch Cé. The Four Masters call him "a plundering warlike unquiet and rebellious man, who had often forced the gap of danger on his enemies, and upon whom it was frequently forced."

He was the husband of Grainne ni Mhaille, better known as Grace O'Malley, who survived him for many years. Though she is not recognised in the Annals, the English records show that she was an imperious, courageous woman, who went plundering upon the seas, and had acquired a great reputation on the sea-coasts, and who by her abilities and strength of character exercised a very great influence in Mayo affairs through her husband and her relations. She settled at Rockfleet Castle, near Burrishoole.

Her son, Tibot na Long, inherited the courage and abilities of his parents, and became the principal man in Mayo at the close of this century.

Richard MacOliverus succeeded as MacWilliam, and was knighted in November. The succession seems to have been disputed by the Sliocht Ulick, as the Four Masters record that, "A great army was led by the people of Sir Nicholas Malby, and the sons of the Earl of Clanricard, Ulick and John, into Iochtar Tire and Umhall Ui

[1] *S.P.I.E.*, vol. XCVI. No. 37.

Mhaille, and took a countless number of cattle spoils on that occasion, and also burned and totally destroyed Cathair na Mart," which was in the demesne of Westport.

Sir Nicholas Malbie died on the 3rd March 1584. "There came not to Erinn in his own time, or often before, a better gentleman of the Foreigners than he, and he placed all Connacht under bondage. And it is not possible to count or reckon all that this man destroyed throughout Erinn; and he executed many works, especially on the courts of the towns of Athluain and Ros Comain." (L.C.).

He carried the queen's policy a step further. Sir E. Fitton had made her power felt as a permanent authority in Connaught, far stronger than any single lord, and had accustomed the lords to the beginnings of administration. In the western counties the petty wars among the minor chiefs were put down. When Sir Nicholas came they were ready for the next step, the payment of a small composition rent for their territories, the beginning of a royal revenue to enable her to give up the right of cess. They had become used to see sessions held at Galway from time to time, and to see malefactors punished by her judges. He prepared for the system of changing Irish tenures into English tenures, and consequent abolition of irregular exactions, by appointing the principal gentlemen to be seneschals of their own territories for life, with power to assemble and command the inhabitants for the defence of the country, the suppression of rebels, and the punishment of malefactors. They were to attend the president or commissioners of Connaught when required for the queen's service, and to obey their directions.

Thus Moyler Bourke of Cloghans was seneschal of the barony of Kilmaine; Melaghlin O'Malley, chief, was seneschal of Owl Imally; Thomas Keigh Bourke was seneschal of Moynter Creighan. Similar grants were made to others.

MacWilliam Eighter was made seneschal of all his territories. The grant to Sir Richard on 8th November 1583 requires him to arrest traitors and felons, and to put them in the gaol of the county of Mayo until delivered by law; to encourage peace, and to administer the law as becomes a seneschal, not permitting the Brehon's law; with power to raise his reasonable expenses when required by the governor of the kingdom or the president of the province to appear in Dublin, Athlone, or Galway.

The clause regarding the Brehon law shows the intention to make English law general, but it related to criminal affairs, not to the civil rights of persons. It does not appear where the gaol of the county was, if there was any, but probably it was kept by the

sheriff, wherever he lived. It does not appear that sessions were held in the county in Sir Nicholas's time.

These seneschalships seem to have been of little real use, except in accustoming men to regard the queen as the fountain of authority and justice. On the whole, the changes were very slight in Mayo, and directly affected only the chiefs. The great boon to all men was the protection against invasion and constant petty fighting, whereby the smaller men suffered most.

The queen's power spread slowly from Galway over Clare and Mayo, and the southern part of Roscommon. The county of Sligo was not yet affected much, and O'Rourk's and O'Reilly's countries hardly at all. O'Conor Sligo's interests were bound up with the queen's, as she could protect him from O'Donnell, and no one else could or would. Thus, in general, Connaught was ready for the next stage towards civilisation.

Writing to Sir F. Walsingham on the 10th June 1585, Mr. John Browne gives the following remarks on the county: "In the baronies of the three Owles, Ross, and MacCostello, they have but little corn, and live chiefly by the milk of their cows. Tirawley is the greatest barony in the county, and the best peopled, and they have more corn and more cattle in that barony than in any other. Gallen and Clanmorris are the most impoverished; Gallen, by what was taken there in Sir Nicholas Malbie's time, and by the passing and repassing of soldiers there then, and taken by the , and by exactions of MacWilliam and MacJordan; Clanmorris by MacMorris's exactions."

SIR RICHARD BINGHAM, KNT.

(From the Portrait in possession of the Earl of Lucan.)

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE COMPOSITION FOR CESS AND THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ENGLISH LAW.

SIR N. MALBIE began, in Connaught, the system of making engagements on behalf of the queen for services, and rents to be rendered to him by such chieftains as he could persuade thereto. They were not one-sided; the chieftain gained acknowledgment of his rights and support against enemies. A list of 1577 shows only one agreement in Mayo, that of MacMorris and David MacMorris on behalf of their country, engaging to furnish six horsemen, six shot, fifteen kerne, for hostings in the province, and twenty labourers for four days' work anywhere within it. It is dated July 22, 1577, and is to take effect from September 1 to August 31, 1578.

A statement of all services due in Ireland made in 1584 embodies the results of Malbie's compositions—MacWilliam and the Bourkes of Lower Connaught give a rising out of 40 horsemen. Baron Dexeter, Baron Nangle, and O'Malley did not give a rising out separately, probably because they were bound to render services to MacWilliam, and so had to give their share, but otherwise they came under MacWilliam's agreement which bound his country to pay yearly £166, 13s. 4d., and to find for one quarter of the year meat, drink, and wages for 100 of the queen's foot soldiers, taken as £327 yearly. The MacMorrises compounded separately to pay, in addition to former services, 80 fat beeves, or £54, 6s. 8d.

By a later composition, the rents of Mayo came to £433, 6s.

The Lord Justices note on the statement that the increase is due to substitution for the old rate of 2d. an Irish acre, which was disliked, but they do not say how these new rents are calculated. Probably some of the labour services and the maintenance of soldiers were commuted.[1]

Thus the way was prepared for greater changes.

Sir John Perrot first sat in Council as lord deputy on June 21, 1584, when Sir Richard Bingham was sworn as a Privy Councillor, having been appointed Governor of Connaught on the 8th May. They went together to Galway, and received hostages from MacWilliam.

[1] *S.P.I.E.*, LIX. 71; LXIV. 23; CVI. 50, 51, 52.

Sir John visited all Connaught, and all Ireland, receiving submission everywhere.

In December 1584 and 1585 many pardons were issued for the heads of the chief families, their kinsmen, and dependants. In the absence of indication of general disturbance in Mayo, we must look upon them as intended to smooth the way for new arrangements by wiping out past offences.

MacWilliam and other Connaught lords are said to have attended the Parliament at Dublin in April 1585, though not themselves of either house. This county, like others, was represented by one member.

The queen's government thought that the time had come for carrying out a main end of their policy which had been long sought, the abolition of the oppressive and ruinous practice of cessing upon the country her troops, and the retinues of the governors and chief officers, and those of the great lords. But a revenue must be raised instead. Sir John Perrot, in continuation of previous agreements for payment of rent, agreed to give up the cess in consideration of a sufficient rent upon the land. The lords and chieftains were also to take from their tenants and those holding under them a similar fixed rent instead of their irregular cuttings and spendings. The agreements between them and the queen were called indentures of composition, and they were to make similar indentures with their tenants and freeholders. Certain lands were allowed free of cess to the principal gentry, a point of great importance to them. The seigniories and petty captainships were to be abolished for ever upon the death of the existing holders. It was further provided that in future all lands were to descend by the English law of inheritance.

The rent was fixed at 10s. on each quarter of tillage or pasture land. Certain levies of soldiers were also to be provided by each country.

These arrangements were on the whole well devised to carry out the change, but unfortunately the queen had not always a sufficient force on foot in the province to suppress immediately the violence of those who would not accept the consequences of this arrangement when they were not to their own liking.

This agreement brought the rule of MacWilliam in Mayo to legal and effective end on the death of Sir Richard Bourke. Though MacWilliams were set up again they had no hold on the country, and were abandoned by the local gentry whenever the queen's forces enabled them to do so with safety.

Negotiations being completed in Connaught, a rough survey ascertained the extents of land liable to cess.

On July 15, 1585, a commission was issued to Sir Richard Bingham, Chief Commissioner of Connaught and Thomond, the Archbishop of

Tuam, the Earls of Thomond and Clanricard, the Bishops of Clonfert and Elphin, the Lord Athenry, Sir Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls, Sir Edward Waterhouse, Sir Thomas le Strange, members of the Privy Council; Thomas Dillon, Chief Justice of the province; Charles Caltropp, Attorney-general; Gerald Quemerford, Queen's Attorney of the province; Sir Tyrrelagh O'Brien, Sir Donald O'Connor Sligo, Sir Brian O'Rourk, Sir Richard Bourke, Sir Morogh ne dow O'Flaherty, knights; Francis Barkley, Provost-marshal of the province; Nicholas FitzSimon of Dublin, alderman; John Marbury, Robert Fowle, and John Browne, gentlemen; to call before them the chiefs and lords of the several baronies in the province of Connaught and Thomond, and instead of the uncertain cess accustomed to be borne to the Crown for the martial government there, and of the uncertain cutting and spending of the lords upon the subjects under their rule, to compound with them for a certain rent upon each quarter of land in the province; and further to divide the baronies into manors, or lay down any other thing for the quiet of the country. After passing of which by indenture tripartite it is meant to be ratified by Act of Parliament. They shall make return of their proceeding before the end of next Easter term.[1]

The indenture for the county of Mayo bears date of September 13, 1585. The barony of Ross is included in that of Iar-Connaught, and the barony of Costello, called of Ballyhaunis, was let stand over on account of the wildness of the country.

The barony of Ross was transferred to the county of Galway by Sir W. FitzWilliam, because the collector of the rent of Galway claimed it as included in Iar-Connaught according to the indenture, and the collector of Mayo claimed it as in his county, and so the inhabitants were vexed.

This instrument was signed by the lords of territories, and by the tenants of the principal families who held under them, and may be taken as the best means that could be devised to bind the whole country. For the country it was a very good bargain. The rent of 10s. upon each quarter of profitable land was a light payment for relief from the queen's right of unlimited cessing of officials and soldiers upon the country, which was an undoubted custom, and a universal Irish practice, heartily detested by the government which was obliged to use it. There was also a small provision of horse and foot for service within and without the province. But this was not the whole benefit accruing to the country. The abolition of the similar customary rights of cessing and of exacting and levying contributions possessed by the lords of territories and heads of tribes was perhaps a far greater benefit to the people at large.

[1] 15 *D. K. Fiants*, No. 4745.

MacWilliam surrendered his rents and rights of exaction, and in return was allowed the castles and lands of the MacWilliamship, and some at least of those of his own inheritance free of cess, together with fixed rents out of certain lands, which seem to represent ancient rents paid by freeholders of the early fourteenth century, which he continued to receive. MacMorris and MacJordan, the two great lords of territories, gave up their rents and uncertain exactions for fixed rents. The petty chieftains retained these rights for their own lives only, and were allowed such castles and lands as they held in right of the chieftainship as part of their inheritance. The descent of lands was to be by English law in future. That the contract was on the whole very satisfactory, we have the practical testimony of the people affected by it. Rebellions and complaints were plentiful in the next fifteen years, but neither rebels nor loyal subjects asked that it should be renounced on both sides, that the queen should abandon her rent and resume her rights of cessing and tribute, that the chiefs and peoples should resume their chiefries and former customs.

It will be seen that some chieftain families were willing to keep the queen to her part of the bargain so far as they profited by it, but wished to avoid paying the price; they sought to resume their chiefries and to regain their arbitrary power over their tenants and followers, to reap all the benefit for themselves and to avoid passing on the benefits which were due to those below them.

Such discontented persons were but few, considering how great a change was made. To the smaller people it brought only relief from oppression. The families of the chieftains and gentry were satisfied to surrender some of their position and power in return for protection of life and property, protection against their neighbours and against those above them. Their gain was greater than their loss.

The queen undertook the restoration of the law under this instrument in conditions which were less favourable than those of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The radical difference of that period remained, but the likeness had disappeared.

The difference was that the Anglo-Normans were citizens of the English state, the Gaels were men of Gaelic families; the difference between the civilised and the uncivilised people, using the term uncivilised only to denote the absence of the civil organisation without reference to the state of culture of the nation.

In the time of King Ruaidhri O'Conor the Gael were socially much what they were in the time of Conor MacNessa. Under Christian influence they had lost the gross brutality which is seen in some heathen stories, and had made great advance in literature and the arts. Save for the softening of manners, social life habits and

organisation seem to have changed little. In Queen Elizabeth's time they were much what they were in King Ruaidhri's.

The English of Henry II.'s time brought with them an elaborate system of law and judicature in courts rising from those of the lords of manors to those of the king, whose courts and whose administration kept the whole state together, and secured safety and justice usually to all men. Periods of lawlessness occurred at intervals, but men on the whole could count on getting justice. It was not the system of our days, but it was a system which gave men security for life and goods.

The words *judicature* and *administration* express the difference which divided the nations. The Gael had no judicature organised by a government, only a law worked up by their brehons, their judges, who were ready to decide any matter which the parties agreed to submit to their judgment; no force was behind the Brehons as it was behind the courts of the English, to bring an unwilling defendant before them or to execute decrees. A defendant was, no doubt, compelled by the public opinion of his neighbours, or by the power of the plaintiff and his friends, to submit to trial; but there was no power which would respond to the appeal of the judge as a matter of right.

No government or administration existed at any time among the Gael. It has been suggested that Brian Boru and Torlogh Mor nearly formed Ireland into a stable monarchy, but I cannot see a sign that they differed from other kings who gained the title "King of Ireland." They attained personal distinction, and gained great profits for themselves and their tribes by their conquests. There is no evidence that either of them formed or tried to form an administration, to govern the country. We cannot detect even a germ from which a Gaelic state could have been reared.

The king of a province differed from the king of a petty tribe only in having subject to him several chiefs who were called kings, and the King of Ireland differed from another king only in having made enough of the provincial kings submit formally to justify the use of the title. In heathen times he does seem to have had some special religious or other position in the assembly at Tara, but his functions as King of Ireland, whatever they were, disappeared. The relations between upper and under kings involved only payment of tribute and receipt of wages and liability to irregular exaction in the way of maintenance, and even less if the under king was strong.

In culture, manners, and personal habits, English and Gael seem to have differed little, in degree, not in kind. In these respects the nations easily coalesced.

Only those who have studied deeply the law and practice of the local courts of that time can say with authority that such courts

could or could not have been established among the Gaelic tribes without difficulty, without a complete conquest of each petty king and replacing him by an English baron. It seems to me that the English organisation under the king and his council and his courts, the courts of the barons and of the hundreds and manors which were set up in Ireland, might without difficulty have exercised full jurisdiction over the Gaelic inhabitants of their district as over the English inhabitants. Even the Brehon law relating to tenures of land, inheritance, and the like could have been administered as customs of the manor. The kings of the Gaels and the chiefs of Tuaths and their sub-chiefs answer to the greater and lesser barons and the lords of manors. Slight external pressure would have forced them to set up courts of their own under their own brehons and to give those courts the needful power. They would have worked their courts imperfectly at first, but the system would have been established and improvement would have followed. In a generation or two the whole country would have been under one organisation, the English and Gaelic nations would have been drawn into one state, and would not have been a Gaelic nation and an English state mixed up together.

Whether this view be right or wrong, King Henry's treaty with King Ruaidhri forbade the attempt by the provision that the Irish should use their own laws. It was disastrous because the Gaelic kings did not enforce those laws, and the English royal and local courts had no jurisdiction to do so.

The nations were not far apart in general culture at that time, but during the next four hundred years the Gaels, and the English who were absorbed by them, were stationary, while the English made so great progress in every direction that the two nations were very far apart.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FROM THE COMPOSITION TO THE RETURN OF SIR RICHARD BINGHAM IN 1588.

In the summer of 1585 a man nicknamed Cloasearlykane (Cluas ar leacain, "Ear to Cheek"), a follower of Sir M. O'Flaherty, described as a Joy, became a wood-kerne and assembled followers—that is, became the captain of a gang of robbers and rebels, who robbed in Iar-Connaught and the baronies of Clare and Kilmaine. Walter Bourke, son of Edmund of Castlebar, met him in Thomas Roe Bourke's island, and thereafter robbed some Galway merchants, killed Jasper Martin, and went into rebellion. This Thomas was a son-in-law of Edmund, and was of the family of Cloonagashel.

Some time after this Sir R. Bingham held the first sessions for Mayo at Donamona, where the indenture of composition was finally settled and signed. Thomas Bourke held aloof in disapproval of the composition, although summoned to attend. He shut himself up in his castle of the Annagh, on Hag island, in Lough Carra, and collected men who robbed the country. Sir Richard therefore ordered his arrest. John Carie, the sub-sheriff, found him at MacTibbot's castle of the Crigh. He resisted and wounded Carie, but was mortally wounded himself. This seems to have occurred very early in 1586.

John Browne prosecuted Walter Bourke, and took thirty cows from him about that time.

About the same time Cloasearlykane and fifty of his band were executed. His head is said to have been taken by Roger O'Flaherty. The seventy persons said to have been hanged at the sessions at Galway in January 1586 may have comprised some of this gang.

Sir Richard Bourke died soon after September, whereby the succession to the name and profits of MacWilliam came to be settled by the lord deputy, to whose discretion it was reserved by the composition.

It seems that the action of Walter and Thomas Bourke did not amount to much, or was ignored as long as possible. It is very likely that their deeds were treated as ordinary breaches of the law until they assumed a political aspect which could not be ignored, towards the close of the year, after the death of Sir R. Bourke, when Edmund was not immediately recognised as MacWilliam.

Edmund of Castlebar, being Tanist, should have succeeded. He had lost a leg two years before, and could not take the field. His sons, Richard Bourke the Devil's Hook's son, Edmund Ciocarach and Walter Ban, sons of David Ban, Caheer MacDonnell, and others, manned Castlehag in Lough Mask and the castle of the Annagh, which now belonged to Richard Roe Bourke, who did not openly join them, but endeavoured to secure adherents and to hire Scots from Ulster.

Sir Richard Bingham was engaged in the siege of Cloonoan Castle in Thomond during the first week of March. Thence he came with one hundred men and a few kerne to deal with these Mayo rebels. He began by an attempt to persuade them to return to obedience. Upon their refusal, he tried to burn a couple of boats which they had in a dock under the wall of Castlehag, whereof remains can be seen, in order that they might not escape. The water then came up to the castle wall, so that there was scarcely room for landing. The attack failed, owing to a storm which arose, and failure of some of his boats to play the part assigned. His own boat was upset, two or three of his men were drowned, and he and the rest were rescued by the other boats. The Bourkes secured his boat, and in it and their own escaped to the woods before he could arrange for another attack. They abandoned also the castle of the Annagh. These two castles and that of the Clooneen belonging to Ferragh MacDonnell were destroyed. Captain Mordant and his company were sent across the lake to follow the rebels, who were seventy or eighty in number.

Richard Roe Bourke, who had come to Sir Richard on his arrival in this country, was tried by martial law and hanged for having joined in the conspiracy and having sent to hire Scots. He was known as Fal for Eirionn, the Pale of Ireland.

Meyler and Tibbot Reagh, sons of Walter Fada Bourke, already in custody for endeavouring to hire Scots, being detected corresponding with their friends and inciting them to rebellion, were also tried by martial law and hanged. William or Ulick, son of Tibbot Reagh, son of Richard O'Cuairsci, was also hanged for bringing in Scots and for murders which he had committed long before.

Oliverus and his uncle Thomas, grandson and son of David Ban, were hanged in this year, but at what time does not appear, as the fact is recorded only generally. Several other Bourkes were killed in this year, probably during pursuit in the course of these rebellions.

It is evident that Sir Richard was ready to deal gently with those who took up arms themselves, but he and the government were relentless to those who sought to bring in foreign forces, as the Scots now and the Spaniards later.

The gentlemen of the country now undertook to kill or banish all

the rebels if Sir Richard withdrew his forces. When all was thus arranged for complete reduction of the rebels, the lord deputy intervened with a peremptory order to give the rebels protection, and sent the protection, ready signed, for three months on condition of giving pledges. This occurred sometime in April.

The object of this rising was to secure to Edmund Bourke the succession to the MacWilliamship, to which he was entitled as Tanist. It was evident that the lord deputy did not intend to confer it on him when several months had elapsed. The rebellion, it was hoped, would lead to Edmund's succession with a view to pacification.

There is no evidence of Sir John Perrot's reason for this sudden interference in a petty rising, but we may infer it to have been in consequence of charges made by Francis Barkley, the provost-marshal, and Theobald Dillon, the collector of the composition rent, against Sir R. Bingham, that he caused the rising by his harsh and cruel proceedings. By the end of May Barkley had confessed that he had no grounds for such charges, and it was formally found by the government in the end that T. Dillon's charges were groundless. Meanwhile they were countenanced by Sir John, and there is evidence that they were intriguing with the rebels during this summer, and encouraging them to hold out in hope of Sir John's intervention and his giving them better terms.

The lord deputy's decision regarding the MacWilliamship was announced in May or June. Sir Richard MacOliverus's son William got the bulk, including the castles and lands of Lough Mask, Ballinrobe, and Kinlough, and the rents of the Kilmaine and Tirawley freeholders. Edmund the Tanist got a share which seems to have consisted of rents in the Clann Cuain portion of Carra. Three others, whose names do not appear, got the rest.

This division caused great discontent, because William was young and had no claim to a preference. Edmund had a grievance because he as Tanist had a distinct claim beyond that of any other competitor. The division did not fall in with clan feeling. We may suppose that Edmund's claims were passed over because his sons were in rebellion while the matter was pending, and it was thought that William would be more dependent on and amenable to the government.

The rising was intended to maintain Edmund's cause against his competitors. The lord deputy's decision made his cause that of his competitors. In the course of June they prepared for action. The Bourkes of Castlebar and the Owles were now joined by the other Bourkes of Carra and by some of those of Kilmaine, and by Walter Kittagh, whose brothers, William of Ardnarea and John an tSleibe,

were sent to Ulster with Richard MacDemhan an Chorrain, known to the English as the Devil's Hook's son, though the name is properly the Demon of the Reaping Hook. Several minor families of Bourkes joined them, and some other families of less note. They had also the support of the Clan Gibbon, Clan Philpin, the Joys, the O'Malleys, and most of the MacDonnells. The lord deputy forbade action against them, and sent commissioners to ascertain their demands, which the Council found excessive. Then Sir R. Bingham was ordered to reduce them to submission. In consequence of this parleying their numbers rose from 400 to 700 or 800, and they were for some time free to rob as they pleased.

Sir Richard ordered his forces to assemble at Ballinrobe, which he reached on the 14th July with his own force of 100 foot and 50 horse. Lord Clanricard, with 30 horse and 100 kerne, and Lord Athenry and Sir Hubert Burke, MacDavid, met him. Here came also the forces which he had levied in the province, 100 men under Captain Mostyn junior, 100 under Captain Merriman, and 600 or 700 light kerne.

The rebels now proposed to parley for peace. The Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishop of Kilmore, Lords Clanricard and Athenry, Justice Dillon, and Mr. Comerford and some others, were sent to them as commissioners, who delivered the lord deputy's terms to the representatives of the Bourkes, who were men of little importance. The Bourkes insisted on their own terms, viz.: 1, To have a MacWilliam; 2, to have no officer in their six baronies but such as they liked; 3, not to be required to attend sessions or the like. These terms were rejected as before.

Sir Richard and the Council of Connaught now sent for the Bourke's pledges, who were kept by Mr. John Browne at the Neale—namely, Ulick, son of William the blind abbot; Richard, son of John, son of Moyler; William, son of Moyler Og, whom they hung at once. The fathers of these boys knew well the consequences of their rebellion, that they deliberately consigned them to death. But the Bourkes and the Irish chieftains thought little of such matters—probably thought they had done well in giving children instead of fighting men. After this Sir Richard insisted on pledges of good standing in the family.

On the 21st July he sent the footmen on to Ballintubber, while himself and Lord Clanricard, with the horsemen, took post at the castles of the Togher and Newbrook. A proclamation, which had been made before the parley, sowed distrust among the rebels, who broke up into separate parties, and made no offer to fight, betaking themselves and their cattle to the mountains.

The next day he sent about 700 footmen after them into their

fastness, the mountains to the west of Lough Mask and Lough Carra, under the chief command of Captain John Bingham, Sir Richard's brother. These forces met no general resistance, but came on some of the rebels and killed a few, and took some prisoners, but none of the principal rebels. By the 28th they had got nearly to Galway, having searched out the country of the rebels and followed some of their cattle into Connemara. They brought out 2000 head of cattle, taken from the Blind Abbot, the Clandonnells, the Clangibbons, Joys, and others, besides what they used for food.

Meanwhile Sir Richard sent some of his men with Sir Morough O'Flaherty and Richard Og MacJonyn and his men to attack the Joys and intercept those who fled from John Bingham's men. They took 1500 or 1600 cows, though Sir Morough acknowledged only 800 as captured. Moreover, Sir Richard suspected that the 2000 head brought to Galway had been originally 3000. Mr. John Browne of the Neale, with the rising out of Kilmaine, went into the Joys' country by Ballynonagh, and brought out about 150 cows and a prisoner, and killed or drowned 11 or 12.

Some footmen and kerne which joined him after Captain J. Bingham's departure were sent into Erris, whence they brought out 2000 cows. Roger, or Ruaidhri, O'Flaherty was employed by sea to keep the rebels from the islands. They were so much reduced by these vigorous measures that he was able to turn back some additional forces which were coming, and was on the 30th July preparing to dismiss some more.

Some 80 to 100 rebels were slain in these proceedings.

One thousand head of cattle were reserved to meet extraordinary charges; some were used to pay off kerne who were discharged, and the rest were divided as booty.

According to her own story, Grace O'Malley was captured by Captain Bingham's force and sent to Sir Richard, who released her upon the guarantee of Richard Bourke, probably the Devil's Hook's son, who was her son-in-law.

The Devil's Hook's son played a conspicuous part in these rebellions. His father, Richard an Demhan an Chorrain, never came before or submitted to any governor.

William Bourke, the Blind Abbot, appears here for the first time. He was now the next senior of all the Bourkes after Edmund of Castlebar, and was the head of the Sliocht Ulick of Carra. He is said to have been a man of no force of character, who was guided by his sons. He was now sixty years of age, and for the next few years was the most important of the Bourkes as the heir to the MacWilliamship which they hoped to restore.

Sir Richard moved to Donamona Castle soon after the 30th July,

and stayed there to rest his men and let the rebels come in and submit, as he heard they were ready to do so.

After his arrival there, having evidence that Edmund of Castlebar had taken part in raising the rebellion and in hiring Scots, Sir Richard held a sessions and had Edmund tried for treason under the common law. He was convicted and hanged, in spite of his great age (more than eighty years), as a warning against rebellion and trying to set up the MacWilliamship. It has been repeatedly asserted, to show Sir R. Bingham's cruelty, that he was so decrepit that he was carried to the gallows. This is an error which was started in the Annals of the Four Masters. He had lost a leg, but was not decrepit. He had lately returned from a visit to the Lord Deputy. As the conviction was under the common law, his estate was forfeited. His sons' hopes were ended.

Justin MacDonnell, the head of his clan, came in first. After him came Edmund MacRichard an Iarainn, and after him came William Bourke, the Blind Abbot, who submitted himself in the humblest terms. They were required to give sons as pledges. William tried to put in his youngest son, whom Sir Richard refused, and after two days gave his eldest son. Richard Bourke also gave satisfactory pledges.

By the 16th August all had submitted and given pledges except Edmund's sons, who required restoration of their father's lands. This was in the discretion of the Lord Deputy, to whom Sir Richard referred them. Then they desired to give as pledge the eldest brother's son, when Sir Richard had required one of themselves.

The kerne had been discharged, and the soldiers were to be dismissed. The whole affair was to be wound up on the 26th August, which Edmund's sons had appointed to give their pledge. But then came news that the Scots hired in Ulster were on the Erne coming to help them. So they drew back. Sir Richard started for Sligo the next day, leaving a small force to prosecute them. They did in a week give their pledge to Mr. Browne.

On receipt of this report on the 26th, Sir Richard sent Lord Clanricard to Sligo with most of his forces to support his brother George, sheriff of that county. Next day he started himself with 100 foot and 25 horsemen, making a detour nearly to Roscommon in consequence of a report that the Scots would be in the plain of Roscommon that evening. On the 28th he reached Sligo, leaving at Boyle Sir Thomas Le Strange and the Roscommon forces whom he found there awaiting the enemy.

He wrote to the leaders of the Scots asking why they were coming thus into Connaught, and received the following reply in Irish :—

"This is the answer of James his sons to the Governor of Con-

naught, that they are come over the Erne with a great number of men, being drawn in by the Clanwilliams and the Clandonnells, who are their cousins, and that Shane Entlevie, son to M'William, and Edmond Kykraghe, son to Davie Bane, are with them, to draw them to M'William's country, and they shall give them entertainment and the spoil of Connaught. And James his sons have no other shift, but to take an enterprise upon themselves for such as will give them most, as all other soldiers in the world do use. And whosoever in Connaught shall forbid or let them thereof, they will not take it at their hands, except they be stronger than they, or of greater power. This is sufficient.

"I, DONELL GORME. . I, ALEXANDER CARRAGH."[1]

Donnell and Alexander were sons of James MacDonnell of the Isles and Antrim. With them was Gillaspick Campbell of the house of Argyll. They were said to have come lately out of Scotland. According to Sir R. Bingham's computation, made after the battle at Ardnarea, they were in all about 1400 fighting men, with an equal number of women and children and attendants, whose presence shows an intention to settle in the country. They were joined by about eighty Irish horsemen of Ulster, and by a few Irishmen on foot.

Having heard of the pacification of Mayo, they halted for some days on the Erne, and then moved slowly through O'Rourk's country to Dromahaire and the borders of Sligo, keeping in the mountains and woods.

Sir Richard's free field force was now 400 well-equipped footmen and 60 horsemen, and risings out in number about 100 horsemen and 200 kerne, insufficient for an attack unless he could find the enemy in open country. Thus he waited for them at Sligo and the foot of the mountains, keeping close watch on their movements.

On the 15th September they left their camp to turn back or to come on towards Mayo. Sir Richard waited for them at Collooney and Knockmullen, and other places where they must pass, until ten o'clock at night, when he sent his men away to shelter on information given by O'Conor Sligo that the Scots had encamped for the night. It was a very wet stormy night. As soon as the English forces were withdrawn, the Scots came on and passed 300 or 400 men over the bridge of Collooney before the English footmen came up and took the bridge from them. The Irish horsemen left there did not act. Sir Richard himself arrived from Knockmullen as the bridge was won. Though defeated there, the Scots went to a ford near the bridge which was not guarded, as the existence of any such ford had been

[1] *S.P.I.E.*, CXXVI. No. 17.

denied. With his own horsemen and Lord Clanricard, Sir Thomas Le Strange and Mr. Barkley, and a few of their horsemen, Sir Richard attacked them, but failed to stop them. They got past him and into the mountains, with a loss of only 40 to 50 men. A few of Sir Richard's men and horses were killed and wounded by arrows. Thus the Scots gained their end of crossing into the mountains by judicious use of knowledge of country and choice of times. Their future movements were, on 16th September to O'Hara Reagh's town (probably Annagh), on 18th to a place three miles from Balhegh (probably Bellahy), on 19th into Coolcarney, on 20th to Ardnarea.

Sir Richard now dismissed the risings out as useless for the purpose in hand. They had failed him in the night fighting, as might be expected. Such undrilled men could not be used tactically in combination with the drilled companies. They left him 400 foot and 50 horse.

To protect the barony of Tireragh, he went as far as Ardnaglass, whence he made a long march to Moygara Castle on the 18th September, upon information that the Scots were in the mountains in O'Gara's country. On the 19th he moved to Castlemore, on a report that the Scots were making for Roscommon. About two hundred foot and forty horse sent by the Lord Deputy joined him at these places. On a report that the Scots were in Coolcarney in some place near the Moy, he left at noon for Banada Abbey, which he reached two hours after dark on Wednesday, 22nd September. He was guided through the high woods of the Letter by Edmond MacCostello, who had aspired to be MacCostello, and was in the confidence of the people. Here he soon brought to Sir Richard a priest who had been kept a prisoner by the Scots and had escaped that day, who reported that they were encamped at Ardnarea and were persuading the Bourkes to join them, and who procured two O'Haras as guides.

About 3 A.M., when the moon gave light, the whole force set out and reached the castle at Aclare at daylight. The direct way was now abandoned, and soldiers and baggage in one body were led by side paths in the mountains, keeping as silent as possible to avoid observation. About two miles from Ardnarea a halt was made and the orders for attack were given.

Sir Richard went on ahead with the horsemen, leaving the infantry to follow as fast as they could. About ten o'clock on Thursday, 23rd September, he came in sight of the camp. Half-a-dozen horsemen who had been sent in advance as scouts were discovered by the Scots, who came out and formed themselves in order of battle, thinking they had to deal only with the force they saw. They advanced upon the cavalry, who, after a charge which drove the van back on the main body, retired before them until the infantry came. Sir Richard

then formed his line and made a general charge upon the Scots, who broke and fled to the river. The affair lasted about an hour. There must have been considerable fighting on land, though the numbers found dead on land are not given. About eighty of the Scots stripped themselves and swam across the Moy. Not another fighting man escaped. The chief losses seem to have been by drowning. The English fired into the struggling masses, who lost their footing and were swept away by the current. Bodies were found in heaps on the rocks and banks. The losses were computed to be 1400 fighting men, including all the leaders and Edmond Ciocarach Bourke and his brother Oliverus, and Caheer and Ever MacLiesigh MacDonnell, two chiefs of their clan. An equal number of attendants and women and children perished.

The field of battle has not been identified. There was no escape from it but to the river. The camp was somewhere close to the castle, but the accounts show that the Scots had drawn up outside the camp and had followed the English cavalry a short way.

Those who swam away were reported killed by Walter Kittagh Bourke and others.

Twenty horsemen were out foraging at the time of the battle, and made their way to Ulster. These seem to have been the only survivors of the invasion of Connaught. Eighty or a hundred had been led away the day before to plunder in Tirawley. They were killed, some by those they went to rob, and the rest by the forces of George Bingham and the gentlemen of Sligo.

Sir Richard brought 500 foot and 90 horse into action, all in the queen's pay.

The costs of the rebellion were paid out of cattle taken from rebels and fines imposed on the principal offenders.

The reason of the advance of the Scots to Mayo after they heard of the pacification must be sought in their circumstances, which suggest that it was their least dangerous course. They had landed in Inishowen and plundered that country, and had passed through Tirconnell into Fermanagh. They had to live on the hospitality of the chiefs and gentlemen or by robbery. A body of nearly three thousand persons was an unwelcome burden on any country. The chiefs might willingly support them on their march to drive the common enemy out of Connaught or to pass them on to another territory, but none wanted them as settlers. When they halted on the Erne in doubt they lived by robbery in Dartry and Carbury. If they now turned back they would have all Ulster against them. The road to Mayo was safest, and they had the reasonable hope that the appearance of so large a force would gain them adherents and that some of the chieftains would give them settlements.

The letter of the two MacDonnells shows that they rated their power highly, but the words of the Four Masters seem to describe their force fairly: "Their name and fame were greater than their appearance."

The convoy of families made their marches slow, and compelled them to keep among mountains and woods in order to avoid a battle while so hampered. This necessary course did not raise the country in their favour, but discouraged any inclination to join them, showing that they feared to meet Sir Richard. When they reached Ardnarea the Bourkes had eaten the fruits of rebellion and had no appetite for more. Until they met Sir Richard in battle and defeated him, or forced him to retire and leave the country to them, they could gain no support.

Sir Richard understood their military value and the conditions of his work. When they left the mountains and woods, as they must do at last, his opportunity of striking an effective blow would come, as it did. But he could not have hoped that they would let him find them in a position from which they had no escape.

Having suppressed rebellion and defended his province from the Scots, Sir Richard had now to defend himself. Sir John Perrot was with difficulty restrained by his Council from going to Mayo to supersede Sir Richard in dealing with the Bourkes and Scots. It was objected that his heavy train could not hunt down rebels and would be fed with difficulty, and that Sir Richard was able to deal with the affair. At last they agreed that he might go as far as Athlone. At Mullingar he had news of the defeat of the Scots. He went on to Galway to receive complaints and evidence of Sir Richard's misconduct. He received none, and went back, justifying the Council's objection by his cessing the country heavily for his support, in breach of the composition.

The principal original rebels and gentlemen of Mayo came to Roscommon and subscribed and took oath before the Clerk of the Council of Connaught to two statements, one by those who had been rebels on the 16th November, and one by those who had not rebelled on the 17th November.[1]

The first, entitled "A True Discourse of the Causes of the Late Rebellion of the Burkes," is an important document, because it sets out the origin and history of the rebellion under the hands of those who knew the facts, and appears to be in all respects accurate and trustworthy, agreeing with such independent evidence as exists, and because the deponents declare their readiness to testify whenever called to do so. It is a solemn statement of what witnesses are ready to depose to in disproof of the charges made against Sir Richard. I have made much use of it in the foregoing pages. From it we can

[1] *S.P.I.E.*, CXXVI. 83, 84.

infer the first charges made by F. Barkley and Th. Dillon to have been general charges of harshness and oppression and breaches of the composition, and specific charges of the killing of Thomas Roe and the execution of Richard Roe and Moyler and Tibbot Reagh Bourke by martial law.

They assert that the gentlemen of the country generally disliked the restraint of their arbitrary dealings with their tenants which resulted from the Queen's Government in Connaught, and that they were much displeased by the abolition of the old names and seignories under the composition. When Edmund Bourke sued for and was not granted the succession to the MacWilliamship, his sons and others entered into action to secure the succession for him. They protest these to have been the sole causes of the rebellion, and that the object was the restoration of the names of MacWilliam and MacDonnell and of their ancient customs. The second rising was due solely to the abolition of the MacWilliamship and the unjust division of the seignory. Sir Richard never oppressed or wronged any of them, but was ever ready to do them right and justice, never broke the composition in any way. They acknowledge that Thomas and Richard and Moyler and Tibbot Reagh were justly killed and executed, and that their hostages were justly hanged at Ballinrobe for their parents' defaults, and that the governor spared many other pledges whom he might have put to death justly.

F. Barkley and Theobald Dillon came about the time of their occupying Castlehag and warned Richard and Moyler Oge and Edmund's sons not to come to any officer, but to be upon their guard.

Edmund MacRichard an Iarainn deposed that Garrett M'Teig Dillon came to him after midsummer with a message from Th. Dillon not to trust or come to any officer until Th. Dillon should come to the country, and that he, Edmund, was to be arrested, whereupon he joined the rebels. The deponents were: William Burke the Blind Abbot, Moyler Oge Burke, Edmund Burke M'Richard Yn Yeren, Moyler Burke M'Thomas Roe, Shane Burke, Ustion M'Donnell, Riccard Oge M'Gibbon, Richard Yn Yeren, Riccard a choga M'Gibbon, Tibbot M'Gibbon, Moyler Oge M'Tibbot, Moelemora M'Ranell M'Donnell, Shane M'Gibbon, Edmund M'Moyler M'Gibbon. Edmund Burke M'Thomas Duff, Richard Oge M'Ranell M'Donnell, Walter Oge M'Walter M'Fyreghe.

The name of Richard, son of the Devil's Hook, is not among them, unless it is represented by Richard Yn Yeren, which is not improbable. These men all made marks, and the clerk who wrote may have mistaken. The document is drawn as if he was to sign it.

The second paper is much shorter. It is only to certify that the

abolition of the MacWilliamship and of the other lordships and the restraining from customary exactions were the cause of the rebellion. The deponents are fully representative of the baronies of Kilmaine, Carra, Murrisk, Burrishoole, and Clanmorris, and must have known accurately the facts.

Some of them signed. Those who made only a mark are distinguished by * before the name.

E. B. Edmund Burke's mark of Cong. * Shane M'Hubert, parson of Dun[am]ony's mark. * Laghlar O'Maillie, chief of his name. * William Burke of Shrwher. Edmund Burke of Cowlnegashell. * Moyler Burke M'Thomas Roe. Robertus O'Maylle. * Edmund M'Gilduff M'Jonyn. * Rycard M'Morris, chief of his name. * Ferigh M'Connell. Alexander Og M'Donnell. * Walter M'Jonyn of the Towrin. David M'Morris. * Phelam M'Marcus M'Conell. * Dermot O'Malley. * Hubert M'Jonyn. * Shane M'Morris. * M'Moelmory M'Conell of Toaght. * Farigh M'Torlagh. Reaid Battwrin. * Davy M'Hubbert M'Jonyn. * Moyler M'Morris. * Walter Og M'Walter M'Riccard. * Gillduff M'Gibbon. * Shane Jonyn of Kilchwoyre. Hary FisMorys. * Moelmory M'Ranell. * Moyler Og M'Gibon. * Jonyn M'Ullick. * Moyler Burke of Manychroyr. Johannis Marcus. * William Og. * Thomas M'Tybbott Reaghe. Robertus O'Caleesus. * Walter M'Roe. * Laghlen O'Malley. * Enys M'Donnell of Aghelhard. * Marcus M'Hugh Boy. * William Crom M'Phillipin. Marcus Edmundi finci *finxi*. * Edmund M'Tybott. * Edmund Og M'Richard a chegga. * Richard ne Koillie.

M'Connell is a form of MacDonnell. Reaid Battwrin is not intelligible, but may have been intended to represent Ricard Bhailldrin. Bhailldrin is found as a name of a MacCostello. It is probably a diminutive of Walter. O'Caleesus is perhaps O'Gilla Isus. Richard ne Koillie was a M'Eryddery, FitzSimon.

Some of them probably did give evidence before the Council, though we have no record of any further proceedings until the final order of acquittal on the 20th February 1587, in which the Council finds that Theobald Dillon has failed to prove his charges, which were maliciously brought and were not based on any probable just cause or matter, and further finds Sir Richard's "credit rather increased by defending so sufficiently and truly (as they fell out) the malicious informations of the said Theobald."[1]

It was probably a consequence of these false charges that T. Dillon and F. Barkley lost their places as Collector of Composition Rents and Provost-Marshal.

Connaught was quiet after the defeat of the Scots, and Mayo was in complete peace until the coming of the Spanish Armada.

[1] *S.P.I.E.*, CXXIX. 53.

Bingham and Perrot were pressing the queen to approve the counterparts of the Indentures of Composition, in order that they might issue them to the lords and chieftains who had entered into similar indentures with their tenants.

In May the queen ordered Bingham to come for service in Flanders, but he did not leave Ireland until July. In an account of his service he writes that Malbie's old composition was very unsatisfactory and unfair, and, owing to its inequality, collected with difficulty and not in full. In spite of it the country was cessed. As soon as he had arranged the new composition he drew in all the garrisons and stopped all cessing, and collected rents for the last three years in full, and made no charge for Connaught on the general revenues. Sir J. Perrot wrote to the same effect.[1]

When Sir Richard left the composition rents were being paid in money. Wallop writes to Burghley that Bingham kept Connaught in such peace and order that in these bad years it yielded corn for the other provinces and plenty of cattle. This period of peace and plenty lasted until the coming of the Spanish Armada.

Sir Richard was succeeded by Sir Thomas Le Strange, and on the 12th September by his brother, George Bingham, as Deputy Governor. In September a large number of the principal lords and bishops and chieftains and gentlemen of Connaught petitioned the Privy Council, declaring Sir Richard's good government, and praying that he be sent back as Governor.

On the 13th May 1587 the Lord Deputy issued a commission to Sir R. Bingham and others for the composition with the barony of Ballyhaunis. Owing to Sir Richard's departure the inquisition was made under Sir Thomas Le Strange on the 3rd September. The Commissioners reported that the barony contained 252 small quarters of land called Carowmyres, or a fourth part of a quarter, and that the soil was so unfertile and the arable land so scanty that they put four small quarters to one quarter of 120 acres, and so made out 63 quarters fit for composition rent. They recommended a favourable rent on account of the poverty of the country, and therefore referred the case to the Lord Deputy, who fixed the rent at 10s. on 83 quarters on the 1st December.

In February 1588, having returned from Flanders to England, Sir Richard wrote to Burghley protesting against this reduction of Theobald Dillon's rent by nearly £100 as groundless. He had a survey which made the barony to contain 272 quarters. He pointed out that such a reduction would make the whole composition uncertain and would give rise to discontent in others.

It is probable that this reduction was an act of partiality or corrup-

[1] *S.P.I.E.*, 9th, 10th July 1587.

tion. Theobald Dillon had by this time got into his hands a great part of the whole barony, which certainly contained more than 63 quarters. The Lord Deputy's figure of 83 quarters seems to be an arbitrary figure. No such extraordinary allowances had been made elsewhere. The quarter of 120 acres was at this time an uncertain quantity, a measure of value, not of actual acreage. Estates or denominations of land were estimated as containing so many quarters, meaning that their arable and pasture were equal in value to so many quarters of 120 acres of standard land.

The landholders made surrenders of their lands and took them back by grant from the Crown to be held under English law. After the composition they made contracts with their tenants. Thus civil justice had to be administered throughout the greater part of the province. Some parts of Connaught up to this time were wholly beyond the influence of the courts, such as the county of Leitrim and Iar Connaught. In Mayo such wild and difficult regions as Erris and the Isles were left alone.

There is evidence of the working of civil justice in Mayo at this time, though it is not clear how far the law was applied. It was applied to dealings of merchants and of English settlers with the old inhabitants of the country. But the inhabitants, except so far as they had formally brought themselves under English law, seem to have settled disputes among themselves in their old ways, provided they did not by fighting and killing bring themselves within the reach of the criminal law. I do not find records showing how far the existing customs were recognised and enforced in the Queen's Courts at this time, if they were recognised and enforced at all as an existing law.

Suits were tried before the justice and a jury in open sessions, occasionally within the counties when they were peaceful, and at Galway for the province in general.

In Sir N. Malbie's time Englishmen began to come from other parts to settle in Mayo. The first of these was Mr. John Browne of the Neale, who played a considerable part in Mayo. Because he calls himself the first Englishman who settled himself to dwell in the county, he has been taken to have been an immigrant from England. At this time "Englishman" meant a man of an English family which had not abandoned English laws and customs, and did not necessarily mean a man who was born of a family settled in England. In a list of sheriffs he is described as John Browne of Kilpatrick, from which it may be inferred that he was one of the family which was long settled at Kilpatrick in Westmeath, or came from some other Kilpatrick. He was brought up in the household of Sir Christopher Hatton; many young men of good family were sent

to England to be brought up in the houses of men of position. While in Mayo he corresponded with Sir Christopher and with Sir Francis Walsingham. Whatever may have been his origin, he was without doubt a man of unusual capacity and force of character.

He was of such position in the county as to get 12 quarters of land free of the composition in 1585. He acquired about 30 quarters of land in course of time in the baronies of Kilmaine, Carra, Gallen, Clanmorris, and Erris. He must have acquired by purchase, as it is certain that he did not get Crown grants. There was at this time a good deal of selling and mortgaging of lands.

His nephews William and John came to the Neale, and the former acquired some lands.

The year of his coming is unknown, but it must have been before June 1580, when Sir N. Malbie notes the settlement of Theobald Dillon at Castlemore.

Thomas Nolan settled in the Castle of the Crigh, in which he appears to have acquired a share from the MacTibbot family. His name seems to be Irish, but he was a settler.

William Bowen was an Englishman from Leinster, and Christopher Garvey of Lehinch was an Irishman of the Pale, a son of the Bishop of Kilmore. They acquired two castles from the Bourkes. Walter ne Mully complained in 1589 that he had been wrongfully dispossessed of two castles. Sir R. Bingham explained that these men were in possession after trial in due course of law.

In the conditions under which Walter Bourke was brought up, Bowen and Garvey, men of no local position, could not have brought the queen's power to bear to secure their rights. They would have been obliged to arrange their claim with him.

Merchants of Galway were now acquiring interests in land by sale and mortgage.

Such settlement shows that there was a fair degree of security in the county, at least after 1576, which enabled strangers to settle in the county and invest their money with reasonable safety for their property and persons. Before 1570 this would have been impossible.

The new position of MacWilliam is shown by the incident noted by John Browne, that while he was sheriff he took both MacWilliam and his Tanist, Edmund Bourke of Castlebar, prisoners on account of the disorderly conduct of themselves and their sons, and held them until they delivered to him their sons as pledges to the queen.

CHAPTER XXV.

FROM THE COMING OF THE SPANISH ARMADA TO THE PEACE OF 1589.

SIR R. BINGHAM resumed the government of Connaught in the spring of 1588, and arrived at Athlone in the beginning of May. He collected the composition rents then due without delay, foreseeing trouble if the Spaniards came to the coasts of Ireland.

The Government issued a proclamation ordering all men to bring in such Spaniards as fell into their hands and to give immediate notice of their arrival to the queen's officers, and warning them of the penalties for disobedience. Indeed, no proclamation was needed to tell men that keeping or helping these Spaniards was in itself an act of rebellion and warfare, as the Armada came to invade her dominions and to drive her from the throne.

The ships arrived on the coast during September. The proclamation was obeyed generally in Connaught; but whether it was obeyed or not, the country people did not offer a kindly hospitality to shipwrecked mariners. Some got ashore with their arms in sufficient numbers to protect themselves, and escaped in other ships. The rest were taken prisoners and given up, or killed if they did not surrender themselves, or else were robbed and killed or left naked.

A few were kept for use as fighting slaves. A savage Irish chieftain thought some of the famous Spanish soldiers a great addition to his power. They must fight for their lives, as capture was certain death. When Sir Murrough O'Flaherty made a raid into Galway and Mayo in the next March, he was said to set great store on about twenty Spaniards.

Sir R. Bingham reported in December that the Spaniards were known to have lost on the coast of Connaught twelve ships, that two or three more were supposed to have sunk at sea beyond the Out Isles, that 1100 men were put to the sword, only Don Lewis de Cordova and his nephew being reserved for the queen's orders, and that 4600 were supposed to have been drowned. This wholesale slaughter was repugnant to his feelings, but when he ventured to reserve fifty for the Lord Deputy's disposal he was ordered to execute all.

Sir G. Fenton's final estimate shows the losses in Mayo: "Ships

and men, sunk, drowned, killed, and taken upon this coast of Ireland in the month of September 1588, as followeth: . . . in Tirawley, one ship, 400 men; in Clare Island, one ship, 300 men; in Fynglasse, O'Malley's country, one ship, 400 men; in Erris, two ships, none lost, because the men were taken into other vessels, but the vessels and ordnance remained."

From contemporary letters the following details are taken regarding these ships.

The earliest report is that a ship of 1000 tons, having fifty brass pieces and four great cannons, was cast away at Borris; sixteen who escaped were secured by the Earl of Ormond's tenants. This seems to be the ship noted by Sir G. Fenton as wrecked at Fynglasse. The description given in the letter may be erroneous, as the letter was not written by one who had direct information, and the mention of Borris and Lord Ormond's tenants is most likely a rendering of the fact that O'Malleys captured the men. Some of the O'Malleys were Lord Ormond's tenants. If so, the cannon which now lies at Westport House may have been hers, as it is said to have been recovered from the sands on the coast to the south of Carrownisky river.

A large ship was wrecked in Ballycroy. About 600 men under Don Alonso de Leyva fortified themselves in the castle, but afterwards joined others at Tiraun.

A large ship was wrecked at Tiraun. The crew and the Ballycroy party were taken off by other ships.

A ship was wrecked in Tirawley. William Bourke of Ardnarea took seventy-two prisoners, and Melaghlin Mac an Ab was reported to have killed eighty Spaniards with his Gallowglass axe.

A ship commanded by Don Pedro de Mendosa was wrecked on Clare Island. Don Pedro refused to surrender. Doodara O'Malley slew him and 100 men.

The wrecked ships were utterly broken up and their guns lost. The country people took the treasure and valuables that could be got.

Giovanni Avancini and fourteen Italians, being ill-used by the Spaniards, deserted from them, apparently from those who were in Ballycroy.

On receipt of report that Don Alonso de Leyva and his men were fortifying themselves in the castle of Ballycroy, probably Doona, Sir R. Bingham went forward with the small force he had at hand. At Castlemacgarrett he met the report that they and the Spaniards at Tiraun had embarked again, but he went on to Donamona Castle, as it was reported that 500 others had landed at Broadhaven. Here Justin MacDonnell, one of the leading men of the Clan Donnell, was arrested, tried by martial law, and hanged for treason in having

conspired with Richard Bourke, the Devil's Hook's son, to bring Don Alonso and his men inland, having sent guides, having forbidden the country people to supply food for the queen's forces, and in having incited people to collect in order to force Sir Richard to retire, he having but a small force with him.

This execution was afterwards made a charge against Sir Richard, but the Government was satisfied that the proceedings were regular and the conviction justified.

At this time William Bourke, the Blind Abbot, was arrested and kept in prison for about fourteen weeks, and then released on the pledge of his son for his good behaviour.

At the end of September all were quiet but the Devil's Hook, Sir Murrough O'Flaherty, and O'Rourk, who refused to give up their Spaniards. The person meant by the term "the Devil's Hook" at this time was Richard Bourke, the Devil's Hook's son. The Devil's Hook himself was dead, I believe, though I have not been able to ascertain the date of his death. The English in Connaught seem to have used the terms indifferently.

No open acts of rebellion had been committed in Mayo except the combination of Richard Bourke and Justin MacDonnell to bring the Spaniards in from Erris. But the septs of the Owles where R. Bourke was chief showed disaffection. Mr. Gerald Comerford, who had been sent there on special duty and had been ordered to join Captain George Bingham, wrote on the 19th September to Sir R. Bingham, who was then in Mayo, that he could not leave Carrick Kenedy with his small force, as the Clanrannells, a sept of the MacDonnells living near Newport, and other septs were out and were lying in wait in his road, and asked for a company, which Sir Richard sent, to bring him away.

When the Lord Deputy FitzWilliam came to Athlone to attack O'Rourk and the Ulstermen, who had a large number of Spaniards, he called up the rising out of Connaught. Only those of Kilmaine, Clanmorris, and Costello came from Mayo. Upon the representation of Sir R. Bingham and Mr. John Browne, the sheriff, of the danger of withdrawing these loyal men in face of the evident combination of the Bourkes and Joys and Clandonnells, they were sent away, and Browne was left to protect the loyalists until Sir Richard's return from Ulster, where he was to go with the Lord Deputy.

During the next two months things went worse. Richard Bourke and Sir M. O'Flaherty were open rebels by their retaining Spaniards. It was certain that they would be dealt with as soon as Sir R. Bingham returned, and it was their interest to raise disturbances and gain support. These proceedings are described by Mr. Thos. Nolan of the Creevagh, who had been settled in Mayo for some years and

should have been well informed, in a letter dated 19th March 1589.[1] After mentioning releases and exchanges of hostages made by John Browne:—

"Walter ne Mully had continual access in the night time for ten days together to Sir Murrough ne Doe, and then all the plot of this rebellion was laid down, and they combined together. About that time Walter Burke in the night time killed one William Keaghe, servant unto Mr. Browne, yet Mr. Browne procured for Walter a protection for the committing of that fact. About a fortnight after Walter's brother, Shane Burke, murdered two honest men of the English pale near Ballinrobe. Then Sir Murrough ne Doe held conference with all the O'Flaherties, and joined them all to him except one Roger O'Flaherty. After that he had a conference with the Devil's Hook, the Joys, and the sept of Ulick Burke, and Walter ne Molley at Inishmeane, MacTibbott's house, and in the Partree, and there all the combination was agreed upon, and since Walter Burke and the rest were upon their keeping, Walter did transport the most part of his corn into the Joys' country a month before Christmas. The Devil's Hook, the Blind Abbot's sons, and the rest gathered 80 or 100 men together, and took meat and drink where they listed. They came one night to Darby Moran's, a soldier's house at Ballintubber, commanding his wife to make them good cheer, and said that if she had welcomed and cheered them willingly and the best she could, she would have no thanks for her cost and goodwill. They came about that time to Nic. Lawleis, an honest civil man's house near Mayo, in an evening drank and spoiled six barrels of drink, wasted other victuals, and put the poor man in danger of his life. The next day they came to Allen M'Donnell's house near Lehinch in that number, and cessed themselves in the villages thereabouts. Immediately after, they came up as far as the river of Clongowla or Ballinrobe, cessed themselves upon the Rochfords, Malods, and Clannevallies,[2] and going thus in troops to the terror of the subjects. Mr. Browne did write unto your worship of their insolencies. This rebellion is no sudden act, but a matter long agreed on."

This shows what the people had to endure when the law had not a strong arm present to protect them, a sample of what happened in other places. By such actions, and by keeping Spaniards, Richard Bourke and his associates had broken the protections given to them in respect of past offences. When the Lord Deputy passed through Connaught, he was informed that they were in action of rebellion and must be prosecuted. But nothing could be done then, as all forces in hand were needed for the march into Ulster.

[1] *S.P.I.E.*, CXLIII. 12, ii.
[2] Clann An Fhailghaigh!—*i.e.* MacAnallys.

After Sir Richard's return a commission to prosecute them was given to Captain Mordant. When he reached Dunmore his company refused to go on, because they had not been paid or satisfied for their services with the Lord Deputy's army. This occurred in the middle of December.

Sir Richard now arranged to deal with them by means of local levies. Upon reports of further disorders early in January 1589, instructions were given to the sheriff, Mr. John Browne, and to others to prepare to levy soldiers and to prosecute these Bourkes, and a formal commission to do so was made out for him on the 13th January.

Those in actual rebellion up to this time were Richard and Ricard, sons of the Blind Abbot; Theobald, Walter, and John, sons of Richard an Iarainn; the sons of Walter Fada; the sept of Ulick Bourke of Erris, and the Devil's Hook's son; the Carra Bourkes generally, and those of Cloonagashell; the Joys, and some Clandonnells, Clangibbons, and O'Flaherties.

When the issue of this commission was made a ground of complaint against Sir Richard he justified it in all points at the trial. He admitted that such a commission was usually signed also by one of his assistants. But immediate action was necessary in this case, and no English Councillor was resident in Connaught at the time except Justice Dillon, who lay sick in his house. No Irish Councillors were at hand, and he pointed out that the queen had warned the Lord Deputy not to impart such secret purposes to Irish Councillors. A similar commission had been issued to Captain Mordant. His commission for martial affairs empowered him to act alone in such matters.

This defence was accepted by the Government. The want of signature of another Councillor seems to have been the only exception that could be taken to it, and that was a matter of custom, not of law. These men had been open rebels for months, and an earlier attempt to prosecute them had failed.

Mr. Browne reached Rockfleet Castle, with from 200 to 300 men, on the 7th February, if his death has been correctly assigned to the 8th. Richard Bourke had met him and objected to Browne entering his country.

Browne sent most of his force on towards Erris next morning under John Gilson, William Browne, and Christopher Garvey, following them with about twenty-five men. When about ten miles from the main body, he was attacked by the forces under Richard Bourke and Walter ne Mully, who killed him and all his men, among them Donnell O'Daly, his sub-sheriff, and Redmond Burke of Benmore in Galway.

As the main body came back safely, this was but a petty success for the Bourkes, if only the numbers killed be considered; but it was a

very important event in other respects, and marked a stage in the course of the rebellion.

Hitherto the rebels might be described as unaggressive. They armed themselves against the queen, and set the law at defiance by going about in bands living on the country, and robbing loyal or peaceable men who were not strong enough to resist; but they kept within their tribal boundaries and did not attack the queen's officers, who were able to live in their own castles, but were not strong enough to disperse these bands. They ignored all law and the queen's authority.

They were now joined by the Blind Abbot, the Bourkes of Turlough, Thomas Bourke of Island Caca, the MacPhilpins, the Stauntons, the people of Gallen, many Clandonnells, the rest of the Clangibbons, and by Sir M. O'Flaherty. The rebellion was no more formidable than that of 1586, and might have been crushed as easily if Connaught had not been denuded of drilled soldiers. It was impossible to deal with rebels with only the country forces, and reinforcements did not come for six weeks.

As action by the governor did not follow immediately, this small success seemed a great one to the wild tribes, and the rebels increased in numbers so that in March they were reported in Galway to be 2000, but according to Sir R. Bingham, they were never more than 700 in arms, which is probably the correct number of Mayo rebels under arms at any one time. Early in the month they had taken Tiraun and assaulted Castlecarra, which Captain Wm. Bowen, now the sheriff, had bought in 1586. During this period Nolan and Garvey remained in their castles, and Gerald Comerford, the Attorney of Connaught, was able to move about with a small escort, as we find him at Nolan's castle on the 15th March, and at a castle near Carras on the day of the battle of Carras.

In March the rebels entered on active operations against the queen on a larger scale. It was said that the Bourkes promised the following terms to Sir M. O'Flaherty as the price of his services—£300 for his son Edmond, whom he had given as a pledge, £300 for breaking down his castle of Aughnanure, £300 to keep a bodyguard.

He broke down the castle, and his son was hanged at the end of the month. The report shows that such an arrangement was thought reasonable and probable.

Early in March he crossed Lough Corrib with 500 to 600 men, and joined the Mayo rebels. In the course of the month they plundered the baronies of Clare and Kilmaine and Clanmorris. As William Bourke of Shrule, the senior of the Sliocht Walter, is mentioned as having been plundered, it seems that he and his sept generally were opposed to rebellion, and not merely indifferent. The rebels

had twenty Spaniards, who, it is said, could not endure the hardships of Irish life.

Bowen and Comerford had a conference on the 18th March with William Bourke, Sir Murrough, and the rest. William Bourke attributed the rising to the hard and extreme dealings of Mr. J. Browne of the Neale, and other inferior officers. They said that if William Bourke was created and made MacWilliam as others before him, and the benefit of the composition allowed them, they would make peace. Comerford said that the name was extinguished, and never to be revived. They refused to agree to any kind of peace or truce unless William Bourke was made MacWilliam, which the other side could not agree to.

Sir Morough stayed with a few men at Keltyprichane in Kilmaine, and sent the rest under his son Teige to plunder the baronies of Clare and Dunmore, where they burnt sixteen towns, and gathered 3000 head of cattle and horses.

In the meantime soldiers had reached the governor, who sent two companies forward under Capt. Weekes and Lieut. Francis Bingham, who met on Thursday, and were in camp near Milltown on the morning of Easter Saturday, March 28. The story of the battle is best told in the words of those who won it.[1] Edward Bermingham, who was living in Milltown Castle, was an English gentlemen from the Pale and had been Sheriff of Mayo for a time. He writes at Athlone on the 31st March :—

"So it is that on Saturday last in the morning Teig O'Flaherty, eldest son of Sir Morough ne Doe, accompanied by three of his brethren and 500 more, came to the borders where I dwell, and there did burn and prey 16 towns. Whereof the said Teig accompanied with some 100 came to my town, and there did assault my castle valiantly. I being well provided did put them from that purpose to their great loss, for I did kill two of his gentlemen at the castle door, and had four of his men hurt and buried. He burned half the town, and all my corn, and carried my prey with him. Two bands of soldiers being eastward of me six miles I did send unto desiring that they might make with my guide where I should meet them, and the passage where the rebels should pass. The captains, by name Capt. Weekes and Lieut. Bingham, making no delay issued out, and I certifying in their journey where to come and the brave service at hand, made their repair to the place appointed by me, which was from thence they came 10 miles. I having the enemies in sight till I met the soldiers, when I brought them face to face at the gate of the Carre in the barony of Kyllmaynham in the County of Mayo, where the enemy did prepare them in battle array and come against us.

[1] *S.P.I.E.*, CXLIII. No. 12; vi., vii., viii.

The soldiers not neglecting their time went against them; there was a volley of shot on both sides. They came to the push of the pike with great courage, when the said Teig O'Flaherty was slain with eight of his company. Then they were disordered, and I with six horsemen of mine and eight footmen, being beside our battle as a wing ready to charge upon the breach, did charge, when I struck their guidon under his morion with my staff and ran him through in the face of the battle. I followed another and had him down, and so did my horsemen kill 5 more at that charge. We had not six score of ground to deal with them when they recovered a main bog. Three of my horsemen and eight footmen did kill of them in the bog 16. Her Majesty's Attorney in that province (Mr. Comerford), understanding of their disordering, issued forth when he met of them and did slay 16. Divers others in their flight did kill of them, so that I account there is slain of them 80 and upwards. The Attorney and I brought the head of Teig O'Flaherty to Sir Richard yester night who was wonderful glad, for this Teig was the stoutest man in this province and could do most. I have recovered all my losses by this means." On the 1st April he writes, that all the Clandonnells save two have gone with the rebels, and have of late made 400 gallowglass axes. "I was troubled with certain of my friends in my castle upon the assault, by name my sister Marie Hussey, my wife, and four gentlewomen more of the Pale, who wished themselves in their graves."

Francis Bingham wrote from Tuam on the 30th: "We overtook them at Castle Annacare, where they had gathered the prey of 13 towns, who seeing us come marching, displayed two guidons at the first, and when they saw both our colours displayed they displayed six more, and then retired into a piece of ground of advantage, and put a hedge of bushes between us and them, and presently joined battle with us, and gave a marvellous hard attempt at the first, so when their attempt was withstood they broke so that there and in the chase we had the killing of 100 and odd."

That night two prisoners were got and put to the sword, and next day being Easter Sunday, four men were found wounded in a house and executed, and eleven were got in Tibbot Boy's castle, whereof ten were executed. "There was gotten of their furniture 63 pieces, besides other furnitures, as morions, swords, sculls and targets, and four guidons." They camped that night at Clogher (Cloghans?), and thence went to Tuam to get meat. Urun and Teig Og, two other sons of Sir Morough, were among the slain. Comerford was in a castle two miles from the battlefield, and sallied forth on the fugitives with six shot, seven footmen, and four horsemen, and killed twenty-four, according to his letter dated 29th March at Turin Castle.

At this juncture, when the O'Flahertys had suffered disaster, and the Bourkes could have been crushed easily, the Lord Deputy intervened, ordering Sir R. Bingham to refrain from prosecuting the rebels, and to withdraw all forces from Mayo, in order not to hinder a pacification. He appointed the Bishops of Meath and Kilmore, Sir Robert Dillon, Chief Justice, Sir Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls, Sir Thomas Le Strange, and Sir R. Bingham as commissioners to treat for peace. He handed over the loyal and law abiding part of the people, who were the bulk of the people of Mayo, to the will of the rebels for six weeks.

O'Rourk had been encouraged by the previous inaction to send a party to plunder in the County Sligo, who were defeated and driven away by Sir G. Bingham. Rebellion had not spread further. The Lord Deputy's action encouraged others to join, and to plunder quiet districts, so that the rest of the county of Mayo were forced as conditions grew worse to join the rebels, at least nominally, for their own safety.

Of these commissioners the Bishop of Meath and Sir R. Dillon were bitter, open enemies of Sir Richard, because he had exposed their corruption in the case of O'Conor Sligo a year before.

Captain Merbury, who had been employed in Connaught, has left notes on some of the principal men of Mayo who were concerned in the rebellions and negotiations of this year.[1]

"Sir Murrough ne Doe is reckoned about seventy-five years, the Devil's Hook ['s son], Ulick Burke, and Robert O'Malley nigh to sixty. Walter ne Mully is exceeding poor, but crafty-headed and bold. Walter Kittough is wise enough, but too weak to attain to the M'Williamship. . . . The Blind Abbot was never wise, steady, or honest. He doats for age; is very beggarly overborne by his children. Edmund Burke of Cong, called M'Thomas Yvaughery, is a very handsome man; always out for fear of the law for killing Ulick Burke of the Neale, and if Cong be taken from him, which indeed did belong to Sir William Collyer, he will be very poor by and by. The many factions among themselves are enough to overthrow them."

Walter ne Mully spoke English, and was on friendly terms with Francis Bingham. Gerald Comerford and Edward White knew Irish.

The commissioners reached Athlone on the 11th April. Next day the Bishop of Kilmore and Sir N. White and Captain Fowle, the Provost-marshal of Connaught, were sent to parley with the Mayo rebels. Edward White was with them at the parley. He was a relation of Sir Nicholas, and the bishop was father of Christopher

[1] *S.P.I.E.* CXLVI. No. 21.

Garvey, who had settled in Mayo. The other commissioners went on to Galway, and sent a message to Sir M. O'Flaherty.

By the 17th the Bishop of Kilmore's party had met the Bourkes, and had agreed with the Blind Abbot, Richard Bourke, and the others, for seven days' peace for themselves, but not for Walter ne Mully, who had gone with 120 swords towards Tireragh and Ballymote to join O'Rourk. Sir Richard wished to send 200 men to cut him off, but the Bishop of Meath would not consent.

The two commissioners came to Galway on the 19th, and reported the complaints and demands which the Bourkes had made. Sir Richard desired to send Fowle against the Clandermots, who had risen, but the commissioners desired to retain him. On the 21st Sir Richard asked the commissioners what he was to do about O'Rourk, who was plundering around Ballymote. They told him to report to the Lord Deputy.

The negotiations were opened on the 23rd, when Ulick Bourke, Walter ne Mully, and Robert O'Malley came into Galway. They were told that they must bring in the Blind Abbot, Richard Bourke, Sir Morough, and Teig ne Mully O'Flaherty if they wanted peace, for whom protections were sent. Sending men of such small importance to meet the commissioners was treating them with contempt.

On Friday, 25th April, the commissioners, except Sir Richard, met the leading rebels in conference at the New Castle near Galway, as they refused to enter the town. Sir Richard did not join in the conference, as the rebels made charges against him personally. The grievances and demands of the Bourkes and Sir Morough were again set out.

The Bourkes declared that they would not have rebelled but for the commission to John Browne, that they had never done anything to break their protections, or done one groat of harm to any man until Browne and Gilson encountered them.

Their other grievances were—oppression by sheriffs and other officers going about the country with more men than they were entitled to have with them, taking of their lands without order of law, hanging of gentlemen of land and living by martial law, especially the two sons of Walter Fada and Justin MacDonnell, and tyranny and oppression by Sir Richard Bingham.

Sir Morough's grievances were that the Isles of Arran and certain lands had been taken from him, and he said that he would not have rebelled but for Browne's commission.

The Bourkes offered peace on these conditions—That the MacWilliamship be restored, that no English officers be sent into MacWilliam's country, that Sir Richard be removed from the governorship, and that they should pay the composition rent.

The Lord Deputy's instructions to the commissioners, "They shall have sheriffs, and shall not have a MacWilliam," rendered further discussion useless.

But they had another conference at the New Castle on the 26th, when the commissioners proposed a peace for a month, and that Sir Morough, and the Blind Abbot, and Ulick Bourke, and Walter ne Mully should accompany them to Dublin to declare their grievances before the Council. These made such conditions as the commissioners could not accept. They desired not to be held responsible for breaches of peace during their absence, and avowed that they could not rely on their confederates to keep terms. The commissioners left Galway on the 27th April.

The failure to make peace was the result of the situation as it appeared to the rebels. They had killed the sheriff, and the O'Flaherty contingent had been routed; the Lord Deputy had not dared to follow up this success by attacking the Bourkes, but withdrew all his forces from their country. When he sent to sue for peace, they could see no reason why the victors should submit to terms imposed by a beaten enemy. If he wanted peace he must submit to their conditions. Moreover, they were in possession of the country. They could plunder any one in Mayo who did not submit to them, and could make raids into Roscommon and Sligo. It would be time enough to submit when the queen's forces came in irresistible strength. The reasoning was sound. They kept their country under their own control until the following February, except for Sir Richard's raid in May and Sir W. FitzWilliam's journey through it in September.

The refusal to entertain the offer of peace prevented immediate inquiry into the alleged grievances, but the report of the four commissioners was answered at length by Sir R. Bingham in November. From these documents the above account of their proceedings is taken. The report shows a desire to discredit Sir Richard by any means, and consists chiefly of allegations of want of politeness or consideration towards them, and unwillingness to co-operate with them. But it discloses the fact that he did meet their wishes on all points, although he expressed to them his opinion that the rebels who were pillaging the country ought to be prosecuted. On the face of their report some of their complaints were frivolous, and it was answered and explained in full by Sir Richard.

Sir N. White seems to have been free from the bias of the majority of the commissioners, as he wrote to Burghley on the 9th May that he sees no reason why peace should not have been concluded "if the desire of revenge in some of us to condemn Sir Richard as author of the wars and hinderer of the peace were not the cause." But he probably erred as to the possibility of a peace at that time.

When they left Galway the commissioners authorised Sir Richard to prosecute the rebels. At the end of April Sir Richard had received 100 foot and 30 horse in consequence of O'Rourk's adhesion to the rebels. FitzWilliam saw the futility of the Galway talk, and sent orders to Sir Richard on the 29th April to prosecute the rebels, and promised to send more men.

By this time the rest of the county of Mayo had been forced to join the rebels in form, if not in action. Only MacMorris and David MacMorris, and Walter MacEryddery in Clanmorris, and William Bourke of Shrule, and a few others, held by the queen. In Roscommon some of the MacDermots, O'Conor Roe's sons, and Dualtagh O'Conor of O'Conor Don's sept, were out in arms.

Sir Richard acted with skill and energy as usual. The Sheriff of Roscommon drove O'Rourk back to his own country, and suppressed the other rebels. He went himself to Mayo with six companies, where the rebels fled before him. He marched through their mountains, and killed some without losing any of his own men, but did not get their cattle, which had been driven to the sea-shore and the islands. When he came out and encamped at Cong to rest his men, he met an order from the Lord Deputy directing him to withdraw all troops from MacWilliam's country, and to refrain from prosecuting the rebels. But the troops might defend themselves if attacked. If Sir Richard had not been thus stopped, the rebels would have submitted everywhere, and peace would have been made in a fortnight. All those who had joined the rebels only in appearance had abandoned them. The Blind Abbot and the leaders were now fugitives, skulking in the woods and hills.

This order was made on the 10th May to allow the rebels free access to the commissioners, the Archbishop of Armagh, lately Bishop of Kilmore, Sir Robert Dillon, and Sir Thomas Le Strange, who were sent to Galway to treat with the rebels until the Lord Deputy should come himself to make peace. The Bishop of Meath was joined with them, then or soon after.

The rebels had done comparatively little harm up to this time. Now the three counties of Mayo, Roscommon, and Sligo were left to their mercy for many weeks, and great damage was done when they were thus encouraged to undertake fresh enterprises.

The commissioners started immediately, and sent protections to the leading rebels to enable them to come in to treat. This policy had immediate effect. On the 22nd May Walter Kittagh Bourke and the Clandonnells of Gallen and Costello, and some Sliocht Ulick Bourkes, invaded Leyny and Corran, where they pillaged and burnt, and drove off cattle. Walter's son Richard was killed by a gunshot at Tullyhugh, near Achonry. At the same time O'Rourk's brother

took more prey on the other side. Walter MacRichard an Iarainn went into Costello, whence he carried off some of Theobald Dillon's goods and a gentleman who was in charge of them. Edward Bermingham was robbed of some horses. Grace O'Malley robbed the Arran islanders. She did not altogether give up "her old trade of maintenance by land and sea" after 1586, as she alleged in 1593, but was ready to resume it when the chance came.

This sudden change was caused by a letter from the queen directing the Lord Deputy to adopt a more temperate course in the inferior governments, especially in Connaught. Hereupon he determined to make peace on almost any terms the Bourkes would give. Hitherto he had never cast doubt on the propriety of Sir Richard's proceedings, and had expressed his continued good opinion of him, notwithstanding the commissioners' report. Even Sir Geoffrey Fenton, no friend of Sir Richard, thought that no one matter had more pushed the Connaught rebels to disobedience than the spurning of their own minds against government. Up to the 31st May FitzWilliam affected to suspend his judgment till he went there, but after that he appears to have decided to make Sir Richard responsible for the rising, as the result of his tyranny, oppression, and extortion, and at last came to spare no means, just or unjust, to procure his conviction upon false charges if true charges could not be adduced.

As he passed through Athlone on the 7th June he ordered Sir Richard to remain thereabouts. On arrival at Galway he found that the commissioners had arranged with the principal rebels, except Richard Bourke, for a submission, which they made on the 11th June in St. Nicholas's Church, remaining on their knees almost three-quarters of an hour.

Next day the Bourkes handed in a Book of Complaints against Sir Richard Bingham and the queen's officers, and a petition praying, by way of redress—

1. That a rate be laid down for pleading for pardons.
2. For the removal of Sir Richard Bingham.
3. For the qualification of extremity of martial law.
4. That a man chosen from amongst themselves be appointed to collect the composition.
5. That gentlemen of the county be sheriffs.
6. That no one be dispossessed of lands by provincial order without trial by law, and that such as have been dispossessed be restored.
7. That part of the yearly profits of MacWilliam allotted to the house of Castlebar, now in the queen's hands, be given to William Bourke, the Blind Abbot, for his maintenance.

Though the submission was made on the 11th of June, the proceedings went on until the submission and the conditions of peace were embodied in the following formal instrument on the 20th June, which is an interesting document, both for the actual terms of confession and conditions of peace, and for comparison with the subsequent actions of these very humble and very contrite supplicants:—

"W. FITZWILLIAM.

"WHEREAS Sir Moroughe ne doe O'Flartie of Iar Connaught, chief of his name, William Burke the Blind Abbot, eldest of the low Burkes, Edmond Burke M'Thomas Evagherye, Meyler Oge M'Walter Fadda Burke, David O'Dowde, chief of his name, Hugh Duffe M'Moroghe O'Flartie, Shane M'Morice, Walter M'Tibott alias M'Tibott, Shane M'Thomas, Tibott Reoghe M'Tibott M'Gibbon, O'Donell, Edmond M'Tibott, Robert O'Mayle, Walter Kittaghe Burke, Walter ne , Teg roe O'Mayle, and Dualtaghe O'Connor of the sept of O'Connor Dun, being the chief and principal of such as lately entered into action of rebellion in the county of Mayo, and in the country of Iar Connaught, the most of them brought into Galway against the coming of us the Lord Deputy, by the Lord Primate, the Lord Bishop of Meath, Sir Robert Dillon and Sir Thomas Le Strange, knights, commissioners appointed for that service, far as Galway aforesaid, the 12 of this June 1589, in the body of St. Nicholas' Church exhibited to the Right Honourable Sir William Fitzwilliam, knight, Lord Deputy, and the Council, then present, upon their knees, their humble submission, the tenour whereof ensueth—

"'To the Right Honourable Sir William Fitzwilliam, knight, Lord Deputy General of Ireland. In most humble manner, and according to the loyalty, and most bounden duty to the Queen's most gracious Majesty, her royal crown and dignity, and also to your honourable good Lordship, maketh our lowly and humble submission, Sir Moroghe O'Flartie, knight, chief of his name, William Burke alias the Blind Abbot, chief of the low Burkes, Edmond Burke M'Thomas Evagherie, Walter M'Tibot alias M'Tibott, Edmond M'Tibott, and others now present, and set upon our knees before your Lordship with lamentation and grief for our unhappy revolt from our natural duty and allegiance, as also for all and singular our tenants, followers, and servants, and all other our most unhappy associates in this hateful odious action, raised, put in execution and practised in the county of Mayo, and the country of Iar Connaught, or elsewhere wheresoever within the province of Connaught, whereof we, for us all, being from them hereunto authorized, and they swore and bound to us by oath and faith, to conform and stand to what orders or conditions soever we should agree and consent unto, Do not only acknowledge ourselves to be right heavy and humbly sorry, even from the bottom of our hearts,

the cause or occasion thereof whatsoever notwithstanding; but also we here do offer, for and in the name of us all, to stand and perform what order soever your good Lordship and her Majesty's Privy Council here, shall order and set down, as well for our former faults in this and late falling from our duties, as also for our unfeigned, loyal, and dutiful obedience to her Majesty, her crown and dignity, during our natural lives hereafter, most humbly assuring your honourable lordship to accept this our humble and unfeigned submission, and that we may taste of her Majesty's most gracious mercy, as many others as grievous and hateful offenders heretofore have been. And we, from the bottom of our hearts, according to our bounden duties, shall, not only daily and continually, most humbly pray for our most gracious sovereign Lady and Queen, long to reign with prosperity over us, with faithful promise of the venture of our lives, and the spendings of our lands and goods to serve her Majesty at all times, but also for your Honours long to continue in honourable state amongst us.'

"Upon which their petition and humble submission, we the Lord Deputy and the rest of her Majesty's Council (whose names are subscribed) entering into the consideration of the matters, and of the great desire they have to yield themselves to her Majesty's grace and mercy, and to stand to such directions and orders as we, in the behalf of her Highness, shall set down, have with the full and whole consent of the said Sir Morogh O'Flarte, William Burke, Meyler Oge, Hugh Duffe M'Morogh, O'Dowde, Shane M'Morice, Walter Tibott, Shane M'Thomas, Tibott Reoghe M'Tibott M'Gibbon, O'Donell, Walter Kittaghe Bourke, Walter ne Mulye, Teig roe O'Mayle, and Dualtaghe O'Connor of the sept of O'Connor Dun, concluded, ordered, and agreed, in manner and form following:—

1. First, that every sept shall deliver in such sufficient pledges for the observation of the peace, and for their loyalties and obedience to her Majesty and the state, as we the Lord Deputy and Council shall nominate and think meet.
2. That the said Sir Moroghe, and the rest of the Burkes and others abovenamed, with the rest of their confederates, shall presently disperse their forces, and everyone to repair to his habitation, and to live as becometh good and dutiful subjects.
3. They shall forthwith deliver to the Lord Deputy such Spaniards, Portagalls, and other foreigners of the Spanish fleet as are now amongst them.
4. The said Sir Moroghe and the sept abovenamed shall make satisfaction of all spoils and hurts done by them since the first day of intelligences of the Commissioners, as the Lord Deputy shall nominate and appoint for that purpose.

5. They shall pay such fine to the use of her Majesty, for their undutiful breaking out into action of rebellion, as the Lord Deputy shall lay down.
6. All which being performed by the said Sir Moroghe and the rest according to the express meaning hereof, then they and every of them to have her Majesty's gracious general pardon for their offences past. In witness whereof we the Lord Deputy and the rest of her Majesty's Council have hereunto put our hands, and for the better accomplishment of the premises, the said Sir Moroghe and the rest abovenamed, in behalf of themselves and the rest of their confederates, have likewise hereunto put their hands. At Galway the 20th June, in the 31 year of the reign of our sovereign Lady Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. In the presence of the Archbishop of Tuam, the Earl of Clanricard, the Bishop of Kildare, the Bishop of Elfin, the Bishop of Kilmacoughe, the Lord Birmingham, the Lord of Trimlaston, the Baron of Donkallin, Sir Hubert Burke, M'Davie, Knight, the Mayor and Aldermen of Galway, and divers others whose names are thereupon endorsed.

"William Burke the Blind Abbot's mark X. Sir Moroghe ne doe O'Flartie's mark X. Walter Kiltagh Burke's mark X. Dualtaghe O'Connor's mark X. Tig roe O'Mayley's mark X. Walter ne Mully's mark X. Edm. M'Tibbott's mark X. Tibbott M'Gibbon's mark X. Shane M'Morice's mark X. Shane M'Thomas's mark X.

"John Armachan. Thomas Midensis. Robert Dillon. Lucas Dillon. Thos. Le Strange. Geofrey Fenton.

"Subscribed by the parties within named, and they solemnly swore upon the holy Evangelists, as well for the performance of the peace, and all and every the articles within contained, as for their loyalties and duties to her Majesty henceforth; and for payment of her Majesty's composition money, in the presence of those whose names are underwritten.

"W. Tuamensis. U. Clanricard. Peter Trimelston. R. Dunkellin. Ed. Athenry. Thomas Dillon. Andrew Morris, Mayor of Galway. Ricard Burke. Nath. Dillon. Will. Bowen. Will. Martin, Sheriff of the Co. of Galway. Dominick Browne. Fra. Sheres. Edw. Birmingham. George Morice, Bailiff of Galway."[1]

The peace appears a triumph of moderate policy which secured its ends by peaceful suasion, and brought the whole of Mayo and Iar Connaught to obedience to the law by willing consent of the rebels, but it has a different appearance when the light of contemporary circumstances and of subsequent events is turned on it.

[1] Brit. Mus. Cotton, Titus B, xiii. f. 446.

The rebels did nothing beyond kneeling in church with a petition and agreeing to terms for future fulfilment. An Irish chieftain's submission was nothing unless he gave good hostages. When he came to submit he left them behind him on his departure. None were given now. Some seem to have been given later, but by minor rebels. The Blind Abbot gave none, though he was head of the rebellion, as chief of the Lower Bourkes and claimant of the Mac-Williamship. When his hostages were demanded in October he denied that he had ever promised to give them. The submission was not real.

The rebels were left in possession. The queen's law and her officers were withdrawn from their country, and Sir Richard was forbidden to use force against them or O'Rourk who had not made peace, and was forbidden to hold sessions or circuit of assize until FitzWilliam should come again himself and hold them in every county. On their side the rebels acted as if they had made no peace. Within a fortnight they had broken down three of Theobald Dillon's castles, and had robbed his brother's house, and robbery and violence were unchecked.

The circumstances and events of the following months point to a secret agreement of FitzWilliam and the rebels, that they should make the submission and peace, and that he should not enforce the conditions, and should procure the removal of Sir Richard Bingham.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE PERSECUTION OF SIR RICHARD BINGHAM AND THE SUPPRESSION OF THE REBELLION.

FROM this peace dates Sir W. FitzWilliam's determination to procure an unjust condemnation of Sir R. Bingham for misgovernment. His visit to Connaught must have shown him that none could be procured justly. To compass this end he appointed the late commissioners for this peace, and Francis Barkley and Fowle as commissioners for trial of Sir Richard upon the charges and complaints made in the report of the first set of commissioners, and in the Books of Complaints lodged by the rebels. The Archbishop and Sir Thomas Le Strange have not been accused of hostility to Sir Richard. The Bishop of Meath, and Sir R. Dillon, and the two new commissioners could be relied on to convict of a false charge on false evidence. Barkley had made false charges in 1586. Fowle is called an open enemy of Sir Richard. This commission drew from Sir Francis Walsingham a letter of rebuke and condemnation of the endeavours to procure a conviction by means of enemies, and a warning that it was no unknown thing for a deputy to be accused himself.

The queen's government ordered that the trial be held in Dublin, before the Lord Deputy and Council, except the Bishop of Meath and Sir R. Dillon, and before holding sessions in Connaught. The orders were disregarded as long as possible. In September the Lord Deputy had held the sessions, and had given copies of only parts of the complaints. The delays were caused by the impossibility of making out a case. Those who had lodged complaints took no further interest in them. At last FitzWilliam had to give the copies, Sir Richard put in answers, and the trial began on the 8th November, and continued during that month. Acquittal on all points was recorded on the 4th December, and was published next day.

As nothing was proved against the governor, it is needless to dwell on the complaints and trial, which have been treated at length in the "Galway Archæological and Historical Society's Journal," Vol. iv., p. 161. The result established Sir Richard's discretion, honesty, justice, and fairness.

FitzWilliam ignored the petition for redress, but two points deserve notice. It is not quite clear what is meant by the demand for "qualification of the extremity of martial law;" probably the same thing as the complaint made in April of hanging of gentlemen of land and living by martial law; and their desire was in that case that such further restriction should be put upon its use as would exempt gentlemen of the rank of Walter Fada's sons and Justin MacDonnell from being dealt with.

When Sir Richard came to the government of Connaught every sheriff had a commission for martial law. These were withdrawn, and a commission was given to the chief commissioner only. Execution by martial law did not mean execution by the mere order of the governor. Offenders were tried and convicted upon evidence, and the sentence was carried into execution by a warrant under the hand of the chief commissioner and one or more of his council. It applied only to cases of treason or felony, when the offender owned less than 40s. a year of freehold land or £10 of goods. The object of this restriction was to secure for the treasury the benefit of the forfeiture which followed upon conviction after trial by the common law.

Sir Richard denied that those three men owned any lands or goods of their own. Men might hold high position in an Irish tribe, and have no land and no property of their own worth mentioning. They had but a general right with other members of the family; they were not in the habit of farming themselves, and lived upon the tenants or subjects of their family. The English land tenures did not prevail generally in Mayo as yet. Though the sons of Walter Fada were allowed free land by the indenture of composition, their houses are not named, and it is very likely that no part of the land belonging to the family of David Bourke had been assigned to them.

Execution by martial law was not the same as military execution in the field. Rebels in arms and enemies taken prisoners, not having surrendered upon terms, were put to death or reserved at the discretion of the officer commanding on the spot. Usually they were put to death, unless the rank or property of any one made him worth keeping for superior orders, or for trial by the common law.

The demand that no one be dispossessed of lands by provincial order without trial by law, and that such as have been dispossessed be restored, seems to be a version of Walter ne Mully's complaint made to the commissioners in April, that Bowen and Garvey had dispossessed him of two castles, regarding which Sir R. Bingham replied that these matters had their course in law in open sessions.

He denied that any man's land had been taken from him unlawfully. If such a thing had ever occurred, it could have been proved easily. The redress desired appears to have been the abolition of the local court, whose operation could not be other than displeasing to men who had been subject to no legal jurisdiction. The petition must have been drawn up for the rebels, and cast into such form as their advisers thought best. The rebels could not have drawn it up in English as it was put in.

Unable to remove Sir Richard from office, FitzWilliam did what served the rebels better than the substitution of one governor for another,—restrained Sir Richard from interfering with them, and left them in a state of independence for seven months more.

The damage done by the Bourkes before and after the peace up to the end of August was calculated at £15,809, according to claims made, which were probably exaggerated, but, on the other hand, a very great deal of damage must have been done and petty robbery which was not reported.

The Lord Deputy went to Munster in August, and came by Limerick through Clare to Galway on 2nd September. Sir M. O'Flaherty came in, and gave Galway merchants' bonds for his composition.

On the 8th September and following days he held a sessions at Kilmaine. Six principal men of the Bourkes attended, but the Blind Abbot, Walter Kittagh, and Shane MacTibbot, for themselves and all the Bourkes and Clandonnells in general, sent a letter of excuse that they were engaged against the Scots in Erris.

During this circuit FitzWilliam was trying to find matter against Sir Richard and his officers. Presentments were made in sessions for supplies taken up, £250 against Sir Richard, and £2000 against FitzWilliam's train. These were only *ex parte* statements, not findings on evidence, but they throw light on the conditions of the country owing to the explanations which followed.

As regards presentments made against him, it appears that Sir Richard's method was to pay ready money for all his own supplies. It was impossible to carry on the queen's service at this time unless officers were allowed to take up supplies for which they gave bills. He paid these bills out of the officers' allowances or the revenues.

Some of the presentments against him were in respect of 205 cattle given to him as a wedding present when he returned to Ireland in 1588, having been married in England. Lord Clanricard and others certified that the presentment had been made unjustly at Galway in respect of 50 cattle which they had given freely, and P. Barrett and Walter Kittagh Bourke declared that they

had given some cows freely from Tirawley. A list shows that none of the rebels had given anything.

FitzWilliam alleged that his train paid ready money, and that the officers gave bills for the soldiers. These bills had not been paid in November, nor had he paid for what he took on his passage into Ulster the year before.

He had no money while in Galway in June, and complained that the merchants would not lend him more than £200, which he got with fair speeches, but "harder speeches and threatening" failed to extract more. Sir J. Perrot had not paid for some of his supplies even in 1595. The Lord Deputy's presence therefore was a heavy burden on the country.

In the first week of September seven galleys with 400 to 600 Scots "of the sept of the Barrones" came to Erris under guidance of one of Grace O'Malley's sons, having been made believe that the Bourkes would engage them. At this moment the Bourkes did not want them. The Lord Deputy, with a large force, was on his way to their country, and engagement of these fighting men would have been a declaration of war. Their immediate anxiety was to get the Lord Deputy out of the province as soon as possible.

A quarrel ensued, and the Scots came to blows with their guides. They plundered the country and killed several hundreds of cattle, and took away the hides and tallow.

From Kilmaine FitzWilliam went on to Sligo. In that county some Galway merchants in his train were robbed of £60 worth of goods, and Sir Robert Dillon lost his horse. After Sligo he held sessions in Roscommon, and thence went out of Connaught. Even before he left it the Blind Abbot spoiled Theobald Dillon's lands in Costello, and other bands robbed in Iar Connaught.

The Bourkes threw off the pretence of obedience to the queen in the beginning of October. They would not let any Englishman or civil person—that is, any Irishman who lived according to English custom—live among them, and re-established their old customs.

On the 15th October William Bourke was made MacWilliam on Rausakeera, near Kilmaine, with the usual Irish forms. MacTibbot handed him the rod and called him MacWilliam. In 1595 Theobald Bourke was inaugurated at the same place and proclaimed by MacTibbot. These are the only references to the place or form of inauguration of MacWilliam Eighter. As Rausakeera (Rath Essa Caerach) is but an ordinary fort, it is likely to have been in yet earlier times the inauguration place of the chiefs of the Conmaicne. Marcus Mac an Ab was made MacDonnell.

Disorder was so great that no man of importance dared to live out

of a castle. The castle of Lough Mask was taken from Comerford's garrison for MacWilliam. They attacked but failed to take Thomas Nolan's castle. They plundered John Browne of the Neale, a nephew probably of the late sheriff, T. Chaloner, Edw. Birmingham and Miles Kavanagh, and William Bourke of Shrule, and Ruaidhri O'Flaherty in Moycullen.

The Blind Abbot received FitzWilliam's envoys, Theobald Dillon, Lord Athenry, and MacDavid, on the 22nd October, refused to give pledges, and denied that he had promised them to the Lord Deputy.

Early in November Robuck French went to arrange for the composition rent and got satisfactory assurances; the Blind Abbot and some gentlemen even went to a parley hill and there ordered the collectors to make payment, but it is not recorded that any one paid rent. They promised to submit themselves to the queen and Lord Deputy.

In his desire to please and pacify, the Blind Abbot wrote a letter dated at Donamona on the 22nd of November, protesting that he assumed the name of MacWilliam in loyalty and zeal for the queen's service, to enable him to restore the proceeds of robbery in other counties which might have been brought into Mayo.

"I understand you are highly offended with me for taking the name of MacWilliam upon me. I have done the same by the counsel of some of the bad people of this country, whereby I might make restitution of certain stealths supposed to have come into the country, if that the same might be justly proved, without which or other authority I could not do it. I did not take the said name upon me for any evil intent, but for the purpose aforesaid. And if the same be done by me rashly and contrary to my duty, I humbly submit myself to your honour, and would have come myself to you to make my submission if that I had the means to bear my charges. And I do provide for the same and will come to your honour as soon as I can. And for the taking of Ballyloughmask, I will be ready to yield it up again. Hoping your honour will have some pity of my being the eldest of my name and best in the country, and will be as beneficial to me as to other Irish lords, I take my leave."[1]

The patience of the English Government was exhausted now. The queen wrote herself to FitzWilliam, expressing her displeasure at the Bourkes' rebellion and restoration of the MacWilliamship, and ordering him to assist Sir Richard Bingham to suppress the rebels.

The trial of Sir Richard was now nearly over. He was acquitted of all charges on the 4th December and was ordered to go to Connaught; but in spite of the queen's orders, he was not yet let

[1] *S.P.I.E.*, CXLVIII. 19.

meddle with the rebels, who were still in arms and plundering as usual.

FitzWilliam started for Galway on the 16th, and had about 1500 men there at the end of the month, besides the forces of the Earls of Clanricard and Thomond.

About this time 500 rebels were encamped near Roscommon, having burnt and robbed many towns in the plains of Connaught. Edmund MacRichard an Iarainn and Coagh O'Madden, two important pledges, escaped from Galway. Two MacCostellos were killed in Slievemurry by an O'Kelly, whom they must have gone to rob, as the O'Kellys did not join the rebels, and this was only a week before Christmas.

The Lord Deputy issued a proclamation on the 23rd December at Galway, inviting the rebels to come in and treat by the 12th January. As it said nothing about their returning, they justly suspected and did not come in, except Sir M. O'Flaherty, who was seized because he refused to give a son as a pledge, and O'Dowda, who was seized to make him surrender Castleconor to the queen and give better pledges.

FitzWilliam sent his envoys to persuade the rebels to come. First Robert Fowle and James Lynch reported that the Blind Abbot and others would not come in, saying that they could not provide thirty-eight pledges, and that if the best of them came in they would never get out, and that they could not control the country without a chief, by whatever name. The Blind Abbot, Walter ne Mully, and Edmund Bourke of Cong and others asked for a safe conduct to come and return.

Upon receipt of this report, dated 4th January, FitzWilliam sent out Thomas Dillon, Nich. Lynch, and Theobald Dillon, who reported on the 10th that they held a conference at Rosserrilly with the Blind Abbot, Walter Kittagh, Edmund and Walter ne Mully Bourke, and about 100 others, who kept on the west side of the river, refusing to come into Galway except on protection with liberty to withdraw. The first three wrote to that effect on the 10th.

On 12th January commission was given to Sir R. Bingham to prosecute the rebels and command the forces. Sir Murrough and O'Dowda were left in his hands, to be dealt with at his discretion, with their own consent, when the Lord Deputy and Council left Galway. Richard Og MacJonyn and some O'Kellys and others were apprehended as a precaution. This Richard Og appears in many records of the time, and seems to have had considerable influence.

About this time the Blind Abbot's sons made a raid into Airtech. On their return they attacked the castle of Bennfada in North Costello and burnt the town.

Sir Richard assembled a force at Cong, mustering 809 soldiers and 228 kerne on the 1st February. The Earl of Thomond "footed it in the mountains" with Sir Richard, and the Earl of Clanricard also did good service. The force was small but ample for the service. Sir Richard thus describes the rebels to whom FitzWilliam had been suing for peace:—

"The whole force which the Burkes could make were not 900 men, whereof the one half were churls, only armed with Gallowglass axes. We would have encountered 3000 of them such as they, for God knoweth they were most badly furnished, and very rags to look upon, but the manner of the country is to double or treble everything upon like occasion. If all the Irishry in Connaught were out in rebellion, both earls and others, they were not able to make 3000 men to serve. The sons of Edmund Burke of Castlebarry are in the Low Countries with Stanley."[1]

This is the last we hear of Edmund's sons. They were the first Bourkes who went to serve abroad with the queen's enemies. Sir William Stanley had deserted from her army.

On the 3rd February the force moved to Bellanaloob, where some MacDonnells opened communications, and on the 6th to Castlebar, where a prisoner disclosed an intended ambush at Barnagee. A few shots were fired into the camp. Next day as they moved down Barnagee about four hundred rebels made a feeble attack on the rear, and were driven off by a discharge of shot. The halt seems to have been made near the foot of the pass. The march from Castlebar must have been very laborious in those days.

On the 8th they got into Tirawley. Seven horsemen had been following at a distance, knowing that Sir Richard had no cavalry. Five of Lord Thomond's kerne chased three or four rebel kerne who were crossing a bog, not seeing the horsemen, who suddenly charged upon them, killing one and wounding another. One of the kerne, being almost overtaken, turned and dealt a stroke with his sword which nearly cut off the horseman's foot at the ankle, and so escaped unhurt. The horseman was the Blind Abbot, and his companions were Walter Kittagh, Edmund MacRicaird an Iarainn, and four other men of rank.

The Blind Abbot was taken to an island in Lough Con, where a surgeon cut the foot off. Thus ended William Bourke's pretension to the chieftainship. Being now insignificant, Sir Richard never troubled about him again, and he got his pardon like the rest. The last we hear of him is that he died in September 1598 in Thomond, and was buried in Quin Abbey.

The Bourkes and their allies had now lost heart. As the soldiers

[1] *S.P.I.E.*, CLI. 81.

entered Tirawley they burnt their own towns and corn before them. Sir Richard marched by Ballysakeery into the Laggan, burning what corn the rebels left, so that their losses in this matter came in the whole to 1200 ricks or so. Some 400 to 500 cows were collected. On the 11th Alexander MacHugh Boy MacDonnell submitted unconditionally, and gave his son as a pledge. The Clandonnells, dependants of the Bourkes, gave up when they found that the Bourkes would not fight.

The soldiers marched into the mountains of Erris on the 12th, and got there 1600 cows, which were much wanted as food. On the 16th they reached Burrishoole.

On the 18th Captain St. Leger took half the forces into MacPhilip's country (MacPhilpin's ?), met 120 Gallowglasses, slew many and chased the rest, and slew the churls and took 70 cows. Next day Sir Richard took the other half of the forces into the other half of the fastness, took 100 cows, and slew churls, women, and children.

Lord Clanricard and others with their horsemen took 400 cows from Gallen, and slew some rebels. The English of Roscommon and the queen's men under Captain John Bingham and others slew 12 rebels and took 300 cows.

This fastness must have been the wild, rough country north and west of Castlebar. Mountain, or bog, or high wood was not considered to be a fastness, however difficult to travel over, but rough country covered with brakes of thorn, hazels, briars, and the like tangled growth, where quantities of cattle and men could lurk and not be found easily.

On the 22nd Feragh MacDonnell came on behalf of all MacWilliam's men to sue for peace, which was promised, and he was ordered to meet the Governor at Castlecarra. Next day Edmund MacRicaird an Iarainn and other septs sent to treat for peace. He and Marcus Mac an Ab MacDonnell and Feragh MacDonnell came in to treat. Edmund made his peace. Marcus was left as a pledge.

On the 21st February Sir Richard was at Togher again, and ready, after resting his men, to take the field in spite of the hardships of the winter campaign, which in his opinion punished rebels far more than they could be punished in summer. The queen's troops were badly supplied; the rebels were not supplied at all. But the rebels were now all dispersed, and were craving mercy in earnest. The Bourkes and Clandonnells submitted wholly to the conditions which he imposed, of which we know only that the Bourkes were to pay a fine for their rebellion. By the 10th March all the septs of Mayo which had been in rebellion had been received into the queen's peace, and had engaged to pay all the charges of the war. These were not to be imposed on them alone, but also on those countries which had risen.

The costs of the rebellions were:—

War against Bourkes and Scots in 1586	. . .	£1476 3	4
,, ,, others in 1589–1590	. .	3296 17	6

After the peace was made, but before she knew of it, Grace O'Malley took two or three cargo-boats to the Isles of Arran and robbed some of Sir Thomas Le Strange's men to the value of 20 marks. Richard Bourke, her son-in-law, was put in charge of her until she restored the plunder and made good the damages.

Peace being established in Mayo, Sir Richard sent forces against O'Rourk, who fled first to Ulster and afterwards to Scotland. The Sligo and Roscommon rebels were feeble and gave no trouble.

In September the Governor reported that Walter Kittagh, Walter ne Mully, Edmund of Cong, and other Bourkes and the Clandonnells had met him at Galway, and that the Bourkes had paid the composition rent and a fine for revolt. He suggested that the costs should be charged on the Bourkes and the countries which joined them—Iar Connaught, the Joys' country, Tireragh, O'Conor Roe's and O'Rourk's countries.

When peace was fully restored garrisons were put in Cong, Cregmore near Kilmaine, Bellanaloob, and Castle ne Gye, which is probably the castle on the shore in Kilcummin parish.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FROM 1590 TO 1595.

At the end of May 1591 seven hundred Scots, under Angus MacEllin or Campbell and Rory MacE Neill Barre, landed in Erris from thirteen galleys. The Bourkes of Sliocht Ulick went forward to meet them, sending word to John Bingham, the sheriff, and asking him to help. He went forward to help them. Sir Richard wrote for another band of soldiers, as it was not safe to go into Erris with a small force, lest the Bourkes and Scots should combine against it.

The Bourkes drove the Scots away before any help reached them, killing forty, among whom were Owen M'E Neill Barre and a son of MacLeod. The Bourkes lost Richard and Thomas, sons of the Blind Abbot, and John MacMeyler Oge MacGibbon, killed; David and Meyler, sons of Ulick Bourke of Erris, and eighteen followers of Sliocht Ulick were severely wounded. This action was on the 2nd June 1591.

When the Bourkes thus successfully defended themselves from robbers, it was for their own benefit, and not from a law-abiding spirit. Sir Richard's doubts were soon justified.

His brother, Captain John Bingham, had been employed in command of a company since Sir Richard came to Connaught. Somewhat before this time he settled at Cloonagashel, which he had bought. He had bought also the lease of Edmund Bourke's forfeited Castlebar estate for 100 cows and the unpaid rent of £5 a year since 1586, from Bryan FitzWilliam, the Lord Deputy's brother. In April 1591 he was made Sheriff of Mayo. He was now arranging to rebuild Castlebar, which the Bourkes had broken down. Judging by Downing's description, written in 1585, as a large bawn containing two round towers or castles and a dwelling-house, it was of considerable size and suitable for a garrison, and we find that Sir Richard proposed later on that it should be occupied for the queen. After restoration Captain Bingham held it by a ward of twelve Englishmen. Occupation by an English sheriff and his men would put a very unpleasant restraint upon the Sleight Ulick Bourke, which they sought to prevent by murdering Captain Bingham.

Under colour of going to see a duel arranged to be fought in June

between William Bourke of Ardnarea, son of Sir John, and Alexander MacDonnell, son of Hugh Boy, in which William was killed, they collected some four hundred men and waylaid Captain Bingham about the 20th June, at a place eleven miles from Cloonagashel, as he went to Castlebar with sixty of the garrison foot-soldiers. Their attack was a disastrous failure. They wounded one man slightly with a bullet. Eight of their men were killed; thirty-five were seriously wounded; the rest fled. They were so cowed that they begged for mercy, which the Governor and Council granted, exacting only some better conditions than were made at the last peace, and taking as pledge the eldest son of Ulick of Erris. All was finished in a week.

Not want of courage but want of discipline was the cause of this pitiful display.. The soldiers would be of the best in Ireland, the permanent company of Connaught, trained under the Governor's eye. On the other side was a mob of country gentlemen and their dependents, armed with swords, spears, and axes, and only a few muskets.

At the end of the year Sir Richard induced five Spaniards and one Italian to leave the Bourkes and go to their own country. Sir W. FitzWilliam imprisoned them in Dublin, in breach of conditions of surrender.

Walter Kittagh, the chief of the Tirawley Bourkes, died towards the end of the year, and Walter ne Mully was murdered at night by his brother David's son Edmund and some MacDonnells. He had been for some years the most active, though not the senior, of the Sliocht Walter Bourkes. Thus in one year these names and that of the Blind Abbot disappear from the history of Mayo.

Sir R. Bingham's letters of this time show that he was intent on the improvement of the social and material condition of the country. He saw the difficulty of inducing the people to abandon their old habits and submit to the restraints of law and order. Faults had been found with the composition, and he earnestly deprecated tampering with it, preferring to tolerate those faults rather than unsettle men's minds. He writes that by Connaught custom tenants may remove from one landlord to another. Hence uncertainty of composition, as it is not on waste, and some people keep a certain extent waste from Lady Day to Michaelmas as winterage, so that the composition is short for a half-year. Moreover, the tenants prefer the free land. The only remedy was the reduction of the greatness of the septs, as all rebellions of the Bourkes and others are due to their dislike of the abolition of Brehon Law, and the composition cannot be certain until the freeholders lease their lands to their tenants and so stop the yearly flitting.

The work in hand was to produce a state of security, to protect the

tenants from the oppression which they had to endure under the practice of the great men going about with gangs of armed men and living on them. To make the composition insecure would have withdrawn the foundation of his work.

Early in 1592 a sessions was held in Mayo at which MacTibbot and Moyler Oge Bourke were tried and executed for offences not named, but such incidents as the murder of Walter ne Mully, which is recorded, were not unusual events of those days. Two others were imprisoned. Regarding these he writes: "I hope, by little and little, that country will come to a very good reformation, for indeed if a few of their old practisers and principal ringleaders were taken away, that country would be brought to as good terms of obedience as the English Pale." [1]

The bishops O'Hely and O'Boyle on the Ulster side, trying to raise rebellion in Connaught in aid of Hugh Roe O'Donnell and promising foreign help to come, failed to gain adhesion of any of the Mayo septs except the Sliocht Ulick, who were trying to buy Castlebar from Captain Bingham that the Governor's intention of restoring it might come to naught. They entered into communication with O'Donnell and took up an attitude of hostility to the Government. Hemmed in by quiet baronies, they had to confine themselves to their own countries, and could do no more than throw down a few stones of the broken castles of Kinturk and Castlebar.

Sir Richard went to Cloonagashel at the end of May to hold sessions for Mayo, suppress this rebellion, and arrange for the restoration and the garrisoning of Castlebar. Most of the chief gentlemen of Kilmaine, Clanmorris, Costello, Gallen, and Tirawley attended, a sign of peaceable intentions. Sir M. O'Flaherty had offered his services against the Bourkes if needed. Lords Clanricard and Athenry, Justice Thomas Dillon, Nicholas Mordant, John Bingham, and Gerald Comerford, Councillors, were present.

On Friday before 1st July the Bourkes wrote for a safe conduct for some of them to come in to treat for peace, which was given. They agreed among themselves to come in and submit, but at this point some friends of Feragh MacDonnell, who was then awaiting trial on a capital charge, on which he was tried and executed, persuaded the Bourkes to rescue him before doing so. Some of the principal MacDonnells thereupon forsook them.

They came to the castle by night and attacked an hour before daylight. The watch beat them off with the help of a few soldiers who were sleeping outside in the trenches, only sixteen men being engaged before the Bourkes fled, of whom five were wounded. The Bourkes had six men killed and fourteen or so wounded. One of their MacDonnells was left with a broken thigh.

[1] *S.P.I.E.*, CLXIV. 26.

Next day the Bourkes asked for safe conduct to treat, which was sent to them. They were not yet in earnest and refused to give good pledges, seeking to gain time, as they hoped for help from O'Donnell, to whom they sent a son of the Blind Abbot and a MacDonnell.

O'Donnell's submission in first week of August put them on their resources, which they hoped to strengthen by hiring O'Donnell's Scots. On the other hand, Sir Richard did not intend to take the field until some fortification which he was making there was finished, when he purposed to suppress the rebellion and re-edify Castlebar to hold a garrison. The work was finished, and he moved to Gweeshadan at the end of the second week of August, where he was for some time, hoping to effect a peace. The operations after this are best told in his letter of 25th September,[1] which I have abstracted slightly in parts:—

"Though after their attack upon us here in Sessions the Bourkes affected a desire for peace, yet they refused reasonable terms, being fed with hopes by O'Donnell and the Popish bishops James O'Hely and Neale O'Boyle, and trusting to a combination with him. I intercepted a bag of Irish letters carried hence from the Burkes to O'Donnell by O'Donnell's own Gallowglass, and sundry letters to the said two Popish Bishops, to whose judgment the Burkes offered to stand in all things betwixt them and Hugh Roe O'Donnell. It appeared from the letters that O'Donnell had promised to come hither to join the Burkes, and they said they would never submit again to any foreigners. But as Hugh Roe performed nothing and I drew near they by degrees began to make good offers. I had arranged for two barks, one of a good burthen owned by Valentine Blake of Galway, with four or five great boats or pinnaces to meet me at Burrishoole. I lay long at Gissadan, and finding the Burkes would not come to terms, I gathered the forces which I had prepared with assistance of the Earl of Clanricard, Theobald Dillon, and marched towards the mountains.

"The very first day I removed from Gissadan towards the Burkes, the captains of their Gallowglasses, viz. Tirlough Roe MacMarcus and Phelim MacMarcus, the best of all the Clandonnells, came in to me upon their knees, offering to stand to what conditions soever myself and the rest (in Her Majesty's behalf) should prescribe, and being thereupon received, they would not depart from me in many days after. Then the Burkes seeing the Clandonnells to have forsaken them, Edmund Burke MacRichard an Iarainn (the best of the sept of Ulick) came in great haste in to us the same day, offering in the behalf of all the rest to perform all such conditions as on Her Majesty's behalf should be required of them, so the prosecution might be for-

[1] *S.P.I.E.*, CLXVI. 66.

borne and the Burkes received into Her Majesty's protection. This submission was accepted, and we diverted with all the forces, and took our next way to Burrishoole, forbearing in our march to commit any kind of spoil.

"At Burrishoole we met our shipping, and so continued there two nights all together. The shipping had done great service, for the same had cleared all their islands. From Burrishoole we removed to Cahernamart, whither our boats came to us, and from thence to Aghagower in the Owles; and at this place Tibbot Burke MacRichard an Iarainn came in to us, and agreed unto all things for the Burkes, O'Malleys, and Clangibbons to be received into Her Majesty's mercy and protection, laying in his foster-father Edmund MacTibbot and one Tibbot MacGibbon to remain as pledges till the other pledges for the several septs should be brought in, and the other conditions be performed at full.

"Here we had somewhat to do with the Burkes, for that they would needs have had the sept of the Joys upon their peace (as they termed it), which myself would in no sort allow of. For indeed those Joys are a people that lie in the greatest fastness, I think, within all Ireland, for mountain, wood, and bog, between the Burkes and O'Flahertys, and are challenged to be followers of the O'Flahertys. But in the end the Burkes were content to leave the Joys to deal for themselves, and promised to serve against the Joys if need were.

"The chiefest conditions laid down to the Burkes were these, viz. that every principal sept should lay in a separate pledge, namely, the Burkes by themselves, the Clangibbons by themselves, and so in like sort the O'Malleys, as also the Clandonnells, by which we have divided them one from another. And upon all these septs (for of each name there are divers septs) we shall have nine or ten pledges. They are to pay 1500 marks towards cost of soldiers specially raised. And within a certain time they are to make restitution of spoils committed on any of Her Majesty's subjects since 1588. They had done no pennyworth of harm since this action began.

"Thence we marched to Ballynonagh on the side of Lough Mask, where the Joys came and submitted upon like terms, and to pay 500 marks as their share of charges of the action.

"Thus the pacification was brought about within eight days. Weak as these septs are, no temporising will bring them to obedience once they stand upon terms. Whatever grace is offered them and not sought by themselves, they impute it to Her Majesty's weakness to suppress them, and to their own strength and likelihood to prevail.

"But in very truth the rebellions of these people are carried still in the policy of three or four of their chief men, which in time of peace

do live by the spoil of the rest under them, and in time of stirs do maintain their greatness, the inferior people and such as have any goods of their own being tractable enough to live in obedience. Namely, I find the Devil's Hook's son, Edmund MacRichard an Iarainn, and Tibbot MacRichard an Iarainn to be men of no possessions, or to have of any goods so much as half a dozen cows apiece, and yet in the peaceablest time that is, every one of them has daily attending on him twenty or thirty loose knaves, which he maintains upon the inhabitants of the country. And the way to reform this must be, as I take it, to lay here and there amongst them such small garrisons or wards as shall be able to match the loose and ill men, and defend the better sort against the tyrannies of the others; and then will he that has wealth and goods of his own be glad to depend on the State (finding the sweet thereof) and to put his hand to weed out the evil members. As I hope in God ere long be such a course shall be taken as henceforth your honour shall not hear so much of the name of the Burkes.

"Since my coming to this country now I have repaired this castle called Cloonagashel, and another castle in Carra called Gissaden, where I have placed a ward, and had masons and workmen ready to have gone in hand with the building up of Castlebarry as the only place to settle a garrison in, whereby to divide the Burkes and Clandonnells for ever. But this extreme wet weather coming on so suddenly, I was forced to forbear it till March next.

. . . . . .

"After the fine of 2000 marks is taken, which the soldiers are now collecting, I will go to Galway for Sessions, and thence to Dublin about my accounts."

By the 28th September 1000 cows had been paid towards the fine, valued at one mark apiece.

The final conditions of peace were delivered to the Bourkes at Cahernamart on the 6th, and were accepted by them on the 8th September at Aghagower, being as follows:—

That every principal man, as the Devil's Hook's son, Edmund MacRickard en Erin, O'Malley, and Ulick Burke of Erris, with the rest, shall in person submit themselves to Her Majesty before us, before they be received into mercy.

That every principal man have a protection alone for himself and his company by particular name.

That 1500 cows be presently answered before the forces be discharged.

That the Joys be wholly left to deal for themselves, and not be received upon the peace concluded with the Burkes.

That the O'Harts, O'Dowds, and all strangers, be presently sun-

dered from the Burkes, and have several protections by themselves to repair to their own dwellings.

That several pledges lie for every sept, and not any sept to depend upon another sept, but all upon Her Majesty only.

That all challenges after six months be made good to any of Her Majesty's good subjects which have grown since Michaelmas 1588.

The terms were easy but were enforced. The last clause was not ignored, though details of effect do not appear. Sir Richard after this appears engaged in cutting down exorbitant claims.

Edmund and Tibbot Burke, and the Blind Abbot, and Tirlagh Roe, and Felim MacDonnell are recorded to have submitted personally. Richard, the Devil's Hook's son, who "challenged a special reputation in that he had never come in before any English officer," fied to Ulster with some other Bourkes. The affair was wound up by the order of the Lord Deputy and Council, on the 20th February 1593, for a general pardon of all persons in the county of Mayo, except Theobald MacWalter Kittagh Bourke, Richard Bourke M'Doyll O'Coran, Edmund duffe MacJordan, and Crobar gar, and except any in prison or on bail to appear; provided they appeared within one year at a General Sessions in the county, and sought the benefit of the pardon, paying only 6d., that it might be known to whom the pardon extended. Accordingly the records show long lists of pardons from the 7th to 11th March.

Theobald MacRicaird an Iarainn, better known as Tibbot na Long, so named because he became to some extent a sea captain, made use of and owned a ship and went afloat himself, entered into the history of Mayo at Aghagower, and thereafter played a great part, being the most influential man of the Sliocht Ulick after the death of his brother Edmund, and was generally on the queen's side in the rebellions. His rise marks the decay of the tribal system and the growth of the civil. His position was due to possession of property. Several of Sliocht Ulick were his seniors, and under the old conditions would have been leaders. But his possessions and good abilities made him a man of great importance. He was brought up under Sir George Bingham, and spoke and wrote English. He married Meadhbh, called Maud in English, sister of Donogh O'Conor Sligo. His inheritance was estimated at 40 quarters in Carra and Gallen and the Owles.

It does not appear why Edmund MacJordan and the Crobar gar, or Short Woodcock, who was Richard, son of Ulick, son of David Ban Bourke, were excepted.

Theobald MacWalter Kittagh was not concerned in the rebellion. He had been prosecuted by his uncles, Richard and Edmund Bourke, and condemned in sessions. Sir Richard reprieved him, and procured a pardon. Hearing of the sessions to be held in Mayo, he

went into the Pale, and was arrested at Athlone on the day the sessions broke up in Mayo. He could not have fulfilled, and did not mean to fulfil, the provisos of the pardon. To have effect, a pardon had to be brought to the sessions and pleaded. While he was thus confined at Athlone, Sir Richard applied to the Lord Deputy for a new pardon, and allowed his wife to visit him, who was supposed to have conveyed a file to him, whereby he and other prisoners, pledges, escaped a few days before the 28th September, namely, Edmund Bourke of Tirawley, Henry Keogh MacMorris, Dermot O'Conor, Rory MacFelim Boy O'Conor.

He fled to O'Donnell, under whose protection he lived in future with other Mayo and Connaught outlaws.

The effect of these petty revolts and invasions appears in a statement of the quantity of land allowed for in collection of the composition rent up to Michaelmas 1592 as waste and uninhabited: In Mayo, 392 quarters; in Iar Connaught, 44 quarters; in Sligo and Ballymote, 264 quarters; in Maughery Connaught, *i.e.* central Roscommon, 182 quarters; in Clanricard, 8 quarters; in Thomond, 10 quarters.

The receipts of the year were £2700 out of £3164.

Captain John Bingham restored Castlebar in the spring or summer of 1593.

Early in May the Governor arrested Tibbot na Long, upon information that Tibbot had written a letter to Brian Og O'Rourk, offering to raise Mayo men for joint action with the chiefs of Ulster, if Brian could keep the war up for a month.

Grace O'Malley went to England in June, and was about the Court during July and August, a visit which has given rise to well-known legends. She sought the release of her son Tibbot and her brother Donnell na Pipee, who had been arrested on a charge of being concerned in murdering some soldiers; the succession of her sons to their father's lands; permission for them and Walter and John, grandsons of Walter Fada Bourke, to surrender their lands and receive them back by grant under letters-patent; and maintenance for herself.

Reference to Ireland occupied some time, but in the end she returned to Ireland with a letter from the queen to Sir R. Bingham which procured Tibbot's release. The result of her petition appears in a draft of a letter from the queen to Sir Richard, dated 6th September,[1] to this effect:—

Sir Richard has given no just cause of complaint to Sir Murrough O'Flaherty, Grany ne Maly, and Robuck French, who have to come to the Court with suits and complaints.

The Queen approves of the favour which Sir Richard has shown to

[1] Hist. MSS. Comm. Cal. MSS. of Marquis of Salisbury, pt. iv. p. 368.

her eldest son Morogh, who had been dutiful to the Queen when his mother preyed him with her galleys, and desires him to continue to favour him.

"But the second son Tibbott Burk, one that hath been brought up civilly with your brother and can speak English, is by you justly detained, because he hath been accused to have written a letter to Bryan O'Rork, the late traitor's son, though it cannot be fully proved, but is by him utterly denied; and for her brother Donald, he hath been imprisoned 7 months past, being charged to have been in company of certain that killed some soldiers in a ward."

As Bingham thinks they may be released upon bonds for good behaviour, the queen is content, and the old woman has departed with great thankfulness. For pity of this aged woman, having no title to any livelihood or portion of her husband's lands, she desires Sir Richard to deal with her sons, in the queen's name, to yield her some maintenance for the rest of her old years. She has confessed her ill usage of her son who served the queen, and promises by oath to continue most dutiful.

Her answers to a set of questions put regarding her petition throw light on the social condition of chieftain families which is instructive as coming from one of that class who was free of any tinge of English culture. She tells us that "among the Irishry the widow of a chieftain never got any thirds. His rent was uncertain, for the most part extorted." "Woman is entitled only to her first dowry, for which her husband has to give security for restitution. Chieftains usually die in debt, and husbands now and then divorce their wives on precontracts, or even put their wives away without any lawful proceeding and bring in others."

The answers make clear, what could be inferred from other facts, that Edmund and Walter, sons of Sir Richard, were illegitimate. This in an Irish tribe mattered nothing. Edmund was certainly the principal man of the Sliocht Ulick after the Blind Abbot was disabled, and would, but for the Indenture of Composition and the introduction of English law, have become MacWilliam if he lived long enough.

Walter, son of Tibbot Reagh, son of Walter Fada Bourke, who was in England with her, returned in September and joined the rebels in Ulster.

At the end of September 1593 the Governor was leading a strong force against Maguire. On the night of Thursday before the 30th September, Richard Bourke passed Sligo on his way to Mayo with 160 men detached from Maguire's force, who soon became 300. He burnt a town in O'Hara's country and carried off some cattle. This changed the Governor's plans. He sent off a strong party to operate

against Maguire, and stayed himself to watch the MacDermots, O'Rourk, and Feriagh MacHugh O'Byrne, who had come into Roscommon from Leinster. The English of Roscommon soon destroyed all O'Byrne's force except himself and four or five others.

The Governor sent after Richard Bourke his brother John, Theobald Dillon, and Captain Henry Strete, who intercepted him and killed sixty of his men. After that, David an Ry Bourke and the Bourkes of Tirawley attacked him with their own forces and burnt sixty more in a house. Richard Bourke went into Erris, where he was joined by his kinsmen under Ulick Bourke of Erris, the principal man of his sept. Captain Clarke, with two bands of Irish soldiers raised by the Governor, but commanded and officered by Englishmen, was sent after him, and pursued him in boats among the islands. He surprised the rebels in Inishkea, about 120 in all, of whom 80 were able men. Richard and half-a-dozen escaped in a boat. The rest, finding escape impossible, stood manfully to it. All were killed or drowned. Captain Clarke lost but three or four killed and four wounded. Before this action had finished Richard's attempt, Tibbot na Long had been released, and had gone to help in hunting down his rebellious kinsmen. Some thirty heads of rebel Bourkes and their followers were sent to the Governor at Cloonagashel. All was over by the middle of November.

In April 1595 Tibbot sent a list of the Bourkes whom he had himself slain, as evidence of his loyalty and justification of his application for a pension, namely, John MacMeyler of Erris and his three sons, John Og, Ulick, Antony; Thomas Ballagh and his brother David; Richard MacUlick and his brother Walter; Richard; Thebault Boy; Thebault MacThomas Duff and his brother Edmond Boy and his four sons.

David an Ry had twelve months before broken out of Athlone Castle, where he lay condemned to death for some offence, and had failed to obtain any conditions from the Governor until he should do some special service as assurance to the State of his fidelity. He was now admitted to terms.

Mayo was in peace until after the surrender of Sligo Castle to O'Donnell in June 1595. No remarkable events are recorded. Small garrisons were kept in the castles of Cloonagashel, Castlebar, and Belleek, which had been forfeited by the attainder of Theobald MacWalter Kittagh.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE BREAKDOWN OF GOVERNMENT.

CONNAUGHT was in peace in the beginning of 1595. O'Donnell made small raids into Roscommon in March and April, but was driven out quickly by the Governor, who reported after the second raid that he could not resist the Ulster invasions with the risings out of the country, and must have a force of English. The Government, now much pressed by Ulster affairs, could not keep O'Donnell employed or give support to Connaught. Thus O'Donnell gained power and reputation, and the loyalty of Connaught was proportionately strained.

At this time Sir Richard's cousin, Captain George Bingham, was stationed in Sligo Castle with his company, in which Ulick, son of Redmond na Scuab, son of the first Earl of Clanricard, served as ensign with twenty Clanricard men. On the 3rd June, when Captain Bingham sat writing in a room of the castle, Ulick Burke and his men fell on him and murdered him and seven English gentlemen. They wounded the sheriff, Nicholas Martin, and kept him and his brother and the wife of one of them as prisoners, probably with a view to sale for money or terms, as the Martins were nephews of Sir Richard. The design failed if it was entertained. Sir Richard seized Ulick's mother and two brothers.

According to O'Clery, who was a contemporary and should have good information, this treacherous murder was premeditated and committed with an intention of joining O'Donnell. The murderers were marked men. One of them, Taylor, was taken prisoner in Dunboy Castle and was hanged in Cork. Ulick and the others lost their lives in the course of the wars.

As the Governor could get no help from the Lord Deputy, he went to Sligo with such force as he could collect—only about 300 men—arriving about the 18th June, at the same time as O'Donnell, who came with 300 horse and 500 foot. The Burke prisoners were handed over to O'Donnell in exchange for the Martins. The castle was given up to O'Donnell by Ulick Burke. The retreat of the Governor unmolested by O'Donnell's great force marks the difference of quality. He cannot have had more than 100 foot and 50 horse of the garrison, well drilled and armed, most of them Englishmen. The rest must

have been recruits of the new companies or some rising out from Galway. But they were not enough for an attempt to take the castle or to attack O'Donnell.

This treachery was a great blow to the defence of Connaught, as it laid open to O'Donnell the best passage to and from the west. Sir Richard asked for six companies and fifty horse, English, to enable him to recover Sligo and take Ballyshannon from O'Donnell, and so prevent incursions. The Lord Deputy, Sir William Russell, pressed by Tyrone and Ulster, could send him only a few English soldiers.

By the middle of July Richard Bourke and the other fugitive Bourkes, O'Conors, and MacDermots had returned to their countries, and it was evident that the government could not protect loyal men in those parts. Most of the gentlemen of Mayo and Sligo had been forced to join the rebels, and the O'Conors of Sligo and the MacDermots were out. In August 1400 rebels were out in Connaught besides those from Ulster. The governor believed that the earls and others who were still loyal would remain so if the queen's army were strong. But the new English companies were much wasted already.

In August the government held in Sligo only Ballymote, which maintained itself. The three Mayo garrisons were supplied at great expense. Seven hundred rebels were out in Tirawley, Erris, the Owles, Carra, and Gallen. The castle on Inisbofin leased to Captain Fildew had been betrayed to the rebels.

A number of hostages confined in the castle of Galway tried to escape one day in August, excited thereto by drink, according to the Four Masters, but probably also by the abandonment of their countries by the government. They succeeded in breaking prison in the early part of an August night, when people were at supper and the gates of the town not yet closed. The bridge was secured before they could cross it, and they had to take to the river. Some were killed and the rest captured and hanged. Among those hanged were Edmund MacRichard an Iarainn, Meyler, son of Theobald, son of Walter Fada, Hubert Bourke, son of a MacDavid, two O'Flahertys, and two O'Conors.

After the middle of August O'Donnell made a sudden raid into Connaught. He captured Castlemore, and made it over to MacCostello, who joined him. Thence he went into the barony of Dunmore, where he took the castle of Turlach Mochain. He hoped that Lord Clanricard would join him, but that lord went with thirty horse to join Sir R. Bingham, who hurried from Dublin to Connaught and went towards O'Donnell, who turned back and made his way homewards through Mayo. The governor made all the haste he could to intercept him at Ballysadare, but O'Donnell got over three or four hours ahead of him and escaped into Glencar, where it was useless to follow

him. O'Donnell did no harm on this raid beyond the capture of the two castles and the useless mischief of burning a few houses in Dunmore. The cattle of the country were driven away before him owing to the delay at Castlemore, and he had to escape with all speed when the country did not join him and the governor came down.

The governor had not enough men or supplies or ammunition to besiege and take Sligo Castle. On the way back he took Collooney Castle, and put a garrison in it, and then distributed his men in frontier garrisons to act on the defensive, as they were worn out by the long marches. The companies were wasting daily from sickness. New-comers to Ireland fell sick in numbers from what was known as the country sickness, due to the great damp and exposure on service. Ammunition was so sparingly supplied that there was no more than enough for one day's fight at Sligo. Two new English companies had been promised him, whose coming would enable him to undertake active operations.

Meanwhile Tyrone was making offers of submission, and the queen was eager to end the war. Bingham was ordered to abstain from offensive operations and to enter on a course for pacification.

When these orders arrived, Theobald MacWalter Kittagh was besieging Belleek Castle, and it was necessary to relieve it.

Captain Fowle, who had been absent from his duty as provost-marshal for five years and had lately returned from England, was sent to relieve Belleek, and to treat with the rebels as a person likely to be acceptable to them. Sir Richard remained at Tulsk to treat with O'Conors and MacDermots who had expressed some willingness to do so. During this time and afterwards the governors of Connaught received from many persons in the districts abandoned to the rebels intimation of their readiness to submit if the queen would protect them.

Captain Fowle set out from Castlebar on the 3rd October, accompanied by Captains J. Bingham, Mynce, and Dillon. In a pass not far from Castlebar the rebels attacked the baggage, and slew Captain Fowle and three or four soldiers, deserted by the baggage guard. When the party arrived in Tirawley they learnt that the guard of Belleek had surrendered the castle on terms of life and liberty.

As the rebels showed no disposition to treat, the force retired next day by another way. The rebels—about 500 of the country and 200 Scots—skirmished for six hours until the soldiers had shot away their bullets and were reduced to stones and buttons, when they came closer and killed and wounded many with arrows. The new English soldiers were so unskilled in use of their weapons that the captains gave their bullets and powder to the Irish shots, who did best on that day. The losses were Captain Mynce, Lieutenant Tuite, and about 20 soldiers

killed and many wounded on the English side, and on the other side about 80 reported killed. The rebels did not press their attacks to close quarters, and did not molest the party again.

The want of ammunition was very great. The stock was so low that the officers were constantly calling for it. The English soldiers sent to Ireland were untrained and therefore not much good at first, and died in numbers from sickness. There is much evidence of the unhealthiness of the climate for new-comers exposed to the hardships of Irish life. Those who survived the first year or so seem to have done well afterwards. The eight companies sent against the Bourkes, supposed to be each 100 strong, were in fact only 400 men in all.

A truce until January was made with O'Neill and O'Donnell in October. Mayo, Sligo, Leitrim, and North Roscommon were left in the hands of the rebels, save the castles occupied by garrisons. Sligo had been reoccupied, but not rebuilt, since O'Donnell broke down the castle and abbey in October.

The effect of withdrawal of the queen's power was that from the end of June the semblance of law and order disappeared. Those who had been the original rebels and those who joined them, and those who were in a position to gather armed men, went about the country living upon the farmers, robbing whom they pleased, provided he was weaker than they, under no restraint but the fear of coming into collision with one of greater power. Before eighteen months were over, Mayo and the countries in like conditions were reduced to extreme poverty and misery by this revival of the ancient customs. In addition to the waste and suffering caused by the great men resorting to their old practices, the country had to bear a heavy burden in the visits of O'Donnell with considerable foreign forces. Yet to most of the great men this state was detestable; all who had not too deeply committed themselves were ready to submit, and did submit, as soon as the queen's forces relieved them from the foreign oppressors, who made the insignificant local rebels formidable.

Sir Richard Bingham's government practically ended in September as far as North Connaught was concerned, and by degrees, under various pretexts, he was superseded as regards the rest.

When Mayo and Sligo were overrun by rebels from Ulster and the country obliged to join them for want of the protection of the State, Sir Richard's enemies accused him of having driven the country into rebellion by oppression and by extorting lands and goods from the people for himself and his relations. These enemies were, in his opinion, Theobald Dillon, Anthony Brabazon, Malbie, Taaffe, and Justice Dillon, whose enmity he incurred by restraining their corrupt practices in acquiring lands.

Sir Richard never owned a foot of land in Ireland. He had yearly

leases of the lands attached to the Castle of Athlone and of the Abbey of Boyle, at full rents of £54 and £16, given in virtue of official position. Sir George, as Sheriff of Sligo, had a similar lease of Ballymote. Captain John Bingham bought the leases which had been given to Bryan Fitzwilliam. None of his other relations acquired any land.

Sir William Russell went to Galway early in November, in order to investigate these allegations and to treat for peace with the Connaught rebels—that is, with the Bourkes, who were the only body to be satisfied. He sent Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Bingham's bitter enemy, ahead to treat and get up the complaints, and ordered Sir Richard to remain at Athlone. His endeavour to get complaints from the rebels or make a peace was a failure, though he was at Galway for a month. Only Dermot O'Conor of Roscommon lodged a statement. One Lennan, an Irishman of the Co. Mayo, put in a book, and Anthony Brabazon put one in at Loughrea, which was supposed to come from the Bourkes.

The Mayo complaints alone are within the scope of this work. All have been dealt with at length in the *Journal of the Galway Arch. and Hist. Society*, vol. iv. It is enough to say that these complaints went over the same ground as the inquiry of 1589, and brought in many new matters. Actions attributed to Sir George and to Captain John Bingham and to subordinate officers were included. Lennan did not allege that he suffered wrong himself.

Sir W. Russell treated Sir R. Bingham as Sir W. FitzWilliam had treated him. The charges were held back as long as possible. Sir Richard pressed for trial, which was put off as no evidence could be got. The queen's government interfered, and made orders for the trial.

Sir W. Russell's successor, Lord Burgh, seems to have acted fairly in the matter, which was now being handled by the queen's government. He and his council reported that Sir Richard was not to blame for delay; that they did not believe that these books had been framed by the rebels or even seen by them, but by Lennan and others, who preferred them secretly.

Sir John Norris and Sir Geoffrey Fenton had been appointed commissioners for the trial, being already employed in treating with the rebels.

Sir John was an enemy of Sir Richard, and had applied for the governorship for his brother Thomas in November, as soon as Sir Richard should be removed. Sir Geoffrey was an old enemy. These put off trial, unable to find evidence.

In September the queen ordered that the trial be at Athlone, and added Sir Robert Gardener as a commissioner, and that Lord Clanri-

card and others should be summoned to hear the trial, but not as judges therein. This appointment of Gardener gave great offence to Norris and Fenton.

The proceedings ended suddenly. Sir Richard was in Dublin, preparing to start for Athlone so as to arrive at the same time as Sir Robert Gardener, and was informed on the 23rd September of the arrangements made for his reception there. Sir John Norris had made his brother, Sir Thomas Norris, governor of Connaught; Sir Richard was not to live in the Castle of Athlone, which he held by lease; he must live five or six miles from Athlone; he was not to have any of his own horsemen or footmen for his protection.

Sir J. Norris had served long in Ireland, and knew the consequences of his actions. These arrangements admit of only one interpretation, that it was intended that Sir Richard should be taken prisoner by the rebels or murdered. Sir John cannot have intended capture, because that would have ruined his credit with the queen, who would have been forced to buy release by large concessions to the rebels. They would gain nothing by murder, but would rather exasperate the queen. On the other hand, Sir John and his English confederates would have settled all questions in their own favour by his murder, and could have charged it on rebels or on unknown persons.

Sir Richard embarked for England that evening. On arrival in London he was treated as a fugitive from justice, suspended from office, and imprisoned. The truth becoming known, he was released and ordered to go to Ireland for trial in charge of Sir Conyers Clifford, who was appointed governor of Connaught. Clifford had to leave him ill at Chester. Bingham embarked in a ship which was driven back by storm, and had a bad relapse. He was still at Beaumaris in March 1597. In the meantime the queen had ordered the trial to be before the whole council in Dublin. The course of trial is not in the records, but he was in London in July, when he wrote a letter which shows that he had been acquitted.

He governed Connaught during twelve years, which covered a most difficult time. In his careful hands the small revenues of Connaught paid the cost of administration, and the country was free from the oppression of the cess, except at the hands of the Lords Deputy.

The confidence and support of the Irish population were gained in all but a few parts of the province, such as Leitrim, where the government would not let him act until O'Rourk's banishment, when the rest of that clan came in and submitted and gave no more trouble.

The risings originated in Mayo with the Sliocht Ulick, and were insignificant until the actions of the Lords Deputy fostered their

growth. Rebellion in July 1595 was not an original rising, but due to outside causes, and absence of force in the hands of the State to preserve the peace. With few exceptions the people then and afterwards sought the restoration of government.

Historians have imputed cruelty and oppression; authentic records of the day show humanity, uprightness, and justice. The power of the Lord Deputy was used twice in vain to procure his conviction upon charges of cruelty, harshness, and oppression, which were framed by English officers and English settlers in Connaught; and twice the endeavour was brought to naught by the impossibility of finding evidence of wrong done by him or by his relations or subordinates. Not only was he upright in his own dealings, but he kept his subordinates strictly within their duties.

CHAPTER XXIX.

O'DONNELL'S DOMINATION AND THE FINAL PEACE.

THE conduct of operations in Connaught was taken out of Sir Richard's hands in September 1595, and by degrees he was left to carry on only routine business. Sir G. Fenton was sent to deal with the rebels, to induce them to meet the Lord Deputy at Galway to treat for peace. Sir W. Russell was at Galway for a month up to the 11th December, endeavouring to make a peace and to get complaints against Sir R. Bingham, who was forbidden to accompany him.

On the 16th November Sir Richard made an accurate forecast—"The Burkes upon this offer of peace will make a MacWilliam by all likelihood." Meanwhile they burnt the country round Tulsk, and even the village. The situation was nearly all they wanted. The Lord Deputy was suing for peace, and left to the rebels all the country outside the walls of a few castles held by garrisons.

Anthony Brabazon and Theobald Dillon were sent to treat. At Brees Castle they met Richard Bourke, Theobald Bourke, MacJordan, the MacDonnells and the rest, who demanded only the removal of all the Binghams, and their kinsmen and officers. They refused to go to Galway, as O'Donnell had required them to meet him at Moyne in Tirawley. The Lord Deputy sent Brabazon again to meet O'Donnell, who said that no peace should be made until he himself was satisfied, and insisted on having Ballymote and all Sligo made over to him as his inheritance.

Brabazon was sent out yet again, and brought to Sir W. Russell at Loughrea, on the 7th December, a Book of Complaints alleged to have been made up by the Bourkes. This and some more complaints were all that came of this journey of the Lord Deputy and his council.

On the 25th December Sir Richard reported that the wards of Tulsk, the Boyle, Ballymote, Collooney, Sligo, Castlebar, and Cloonagashel, were likely to be lost for want of relief, and that the sons of Dualtagh O'Conor, first cousin of Hugh O'Conor Don, were threatening Athlone by water.

O'Donnell now came to Connaught to restore the abolished chieftainships, and arrived at Kilmaine immediately before Christmas to inaugurate a MacWilliam. MacJordan, MacCostello, MacMaurice,

O'Malley, MacDonnell Gallowglass, and all the nobles of the country assembled there. The competitors for the name of MacWilliam were William Bourke of Shrule, the senior of all; Edmund of Cong; John, son of Richard, son of John of the Termon; Richard, son of Deman an Chorrain; Theobald na Long; David an Fraoch, and Oliver, sons of Sir John; and Theobald, son of Walter Kittagh. As in the case of the Blind Abbot, the place of inauguration was Rausakeera. The proceedings are thus described in O'Clery's "Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell," Murphy's edition, p. 111 :—"When all these nobles had assembled, as we have said, to Hugh O'Donnell in the same place, Shane Oge O'Doherty formed (as he was ordered to do), four lines of troops back to back around the liss, and the chiefs all about. Eighteen hundred of his soldiers and hirelings and mercenaries round the royal rath, were the first body; O'Doherty himself and Tadhg Oge O'Boyle with the infantry of Tyrconnell outside them, in the second circle; the three MacSwineys with their gallowglasses outside them; the men of Connaught with their party outside them all; O'Donnell himself with his chiefs and nobles in a close circle on the summit of the rath, and no one of the nobles or gentlemen was allowed to go into his presence in the rath but whomsoever he commanded to be called to him at the time. He proceeded then to consider and forecast with the chiefs who were with him what to do to the nobles in reference to the title for which they were in contention and dispute. He called to him the barons and chiefs of the territory in their order to ask them which of the nobles he should appoint to the chieftaincy of the district. MacMaurice, MacDonnell, and O'Malley said with one voice that it was right that the senior William Burke should be styled chief, as their custom was to appoint the elder in preference to the younger. MacCostello and MacJordan said it was right that Theobald, son of Walter Ciotach, son of Oliver, should be styled chief, for he was strong and vigorous by day and by night at home and abroad, whether he had few or had many with him.

"When they had given their opinion to O'Donnell, he resolved in the end to confer the chieftainship of the territory on Theobald, son of Walter Ciotach, and he ordered the son of Theobald [MacTibbot] to proclaim him MacWilliam. That was done to him, for he was called by the name in presence of the forces publicly, though there were others of the tribe older in years and better qualified than he. Yet it was he that had come first to him after his expulsion and banishment from his territory, and he had promised to restore him to his inheritance if he could."

Edmund, John, and Oliver were carried away to Tirconnell as prisoners, and pledges were taken from other competitors and from

MacDonnell. After celebrating Christmas, O'Donnell went to the Bree in Clanmorris, and left Connaught on the 15th January to meet the commissioners sent to treat for peace with him and O'Neill. Before leaving he appointed an O'Dowda, an O'Kelly, a MacDermot, two MacDonoghs, and an O'Hara Reagh.

Theobald cannot be held to have continued the line of MacWilliams by bearing the name without the authority. Even his own clan of Tirawley turned against him when they could do so safely. Henceforth he lived in Mayo only as a dependent of O'Donnell, protected by men supplied by O'Donnell.

The appointment was an unwise act, which weakened O'Donnell's influence in Mayo by giving offence to every family of the Bourkes, whose rights and feelings were openly disregarded. William of Shrule might not have accepted the dangerous eminence. He was on the queen's side as long as possible on all occasions, and for that reason might not have been generally acceptable; but any of those who were in the right line of succession as sons of a MacWilliam, being chosen by the tribe, would have got, if not universal support, at least a friendly neutrality on almost all sides, and the active support of all who sought the restoration of the old practices. Hitherto the old customs were the alternative to the queen's government. Now the choice was between the queen's government and the old customs subject to the very heavy burden of O'Donnell's domination.

Those who had been active to restore the name of MacWilliam designed to secure a chieftain of their own choice and independence of restraint, and to preserve the advantages of the composition. It was no part of their design that a MacWilliam should be imposed upon them, and that they should subject themselves to O'Donnell's cess and oppression. Yet this was what they got by the new MacWilliamship. Henceforth we find the Mayo gentlemen ever ready to submit to the queen's government. If some had disliked her government, they had occasion to dislike O'Donnell's oppression more. The same feelings seem to have grown all over Connaught, which gave the Ulster chieftains very little help in their wars. They had a few bands of Connaughtmen under unpardonable rebels whom they had to support, but no independent help from Connaught chieftains, no co-operation.

The truce with Ulster was extended for two months, and was ignored in Connaught, where only Thomond and a part of Clanricard remained obedient. O'Donnell was sending Scots and Ulstermen into Connaught, where the rebels were estimated to be 3640 foot and 392 horse, to whom the governor could oppose only 471 foot and 86 horse. By April his eight companies of foot, the whole force of foot in Connaught, were but 167 pikes and 246 shot, but 35 of the shot

were unserviceable. At the end of the month the garrisons were withdrawn from Mayo.

The Lord Deputy sent Lord Clanricard, A. Brabazon, and James Darcy to Mayo to treat for peace. On the borders of the county they were met by Tibbot, MacWilliam, who was accompanied by O'Donnell's brother with 400 men, Redmond Burke's sons with 200 men, and the O'Kellys. He said he could not agree to be severed from O'Neill and O'Donnell. A treacherous trap was laid for the commissioners, who had to retire for want of supplies. At this time the governor was receiving from some of the best of the Bourkes, and of all the other septs, secret offers of their services if sufficient force were set on foot to expel the Ulstermen.

At the end of April peace was made with Ulster. The Lord General Sir John Norris and Sir G. Fenton were sent into Connaught as commissioners for peace by the queen's orders, with a very large force.

According to the returns, Sir John had in Connaught from the 1st May to the 30th September, 2000 foot and 600 horse, with which he took no action against the rebels, beyond killing 200 and taking 4000 cows, according to his own account, in petty raids and skirmishes in Galway and Roscommon. The time was wasted in talk. The pacification of Connaught depended on O'Donnell, who was arranging to carry on the war if he could get help from the King of Spain.

The Connaught rebels, to whom the commissioners sent word of their coming, replied that they were bound not to make peace without O'Donnell's consent, and so gained time until O'Donnell came on 20th June. They assembled their forces in the north of Roscommon early in June. The commissioners having arrived at Athlone on the 6th June, moved their forces to Boyle, and, finding no rebels there, moved to Moyne and Kinlough in Mayo. O'Donnell came and encamped on the north side of the river Robe, near Ballinrobe, accompanied by MacWilliam and the other chieftains who depended on him.

Warham St. Leger and A. Brabazon were sent to Ballinrobe to treat with O'Donnell and MacWilliam. After three or four days' deliberation, Theobald accepted the articles tendered to him and signed them; then, as he was about to hand them to the envoys, he suddenly blotted out his name and entered his amendments of the most material articles, and sent the envoys back with a statement of his demands. The articles are not in the record. His demands were:—

1. To have the name of MacWilliam, with the lands and preeminences, by grant from the queen.

2. To have the composition lessened with the whole province, and to have for himself the spiritual and temporal lands.

3. Favour and mercy for O'Kelly and his other friends.

4. That if these demands were not accepted, the matter should be referred to the decision of the Earl of Tirone.

The commissioners declared the first demand inadmissible, because he demanded to have what he had seized by rebellion, and also because, at the composition, the lands and seigniory of MacWilliam had been divided by consent of the province, and they could not be taken from the owners, of whom some kept loyal and others had submitted only to Tibbot's superior force; the second as against the queen's interest, and because the people were content with the composition if it were kept; the fourth, because it made Tirone a judge between the queen and her rebels.

As O'Donnell concurred in these demands the treaty fell through. He refused to give the pledges he had already promised, unless a settlement was made with the Connaughtmen. O'Donnell probably had no intention of making a peace except on his own terms. The King of Spain was feeding the Irish with hopes at this time, and sending small help by a few ships, which came in May and about the 1st July.

The break occurred on the 25th June. The commissioners allowed fifteen days more time for consideration. After that, as the army was weakened, and in want of supplies and ammunition and carriage, they gave time to the 1st of August at the request of the rebels, and withdrew, leaving a garrison in Cong, and in some places in Galway. They left Cong immediately after the 28th June. While in Mayo they took the castle of Aghalahard. This was all they did. They retreated in face of O'Donnell, disguising their retreat by the pretence of giving the rebels time.

After this, Theobald's position was so weak that he would have been driven out or killed but for help given him by O'Donnell. By the end of November all the Connaught rebels had agreed to terms except Theobald and the few who adhered to him. During this summer O'Donnell entrapped Tibbot na Long, and carried him off to Ulster, where he was kept for some time, but the particulars of the affair do not appear. He returned to Connaught in February 1597.

Sir Richard Bingham having been removed from the government of Connaught, Sir Conyers Clifford was appointed in his place, and assumed the office in Dublin early in January 1597.

O'Donnell collected a large force, and started for Galway in the second week of January. He passed through Costello, where MacWilliam joined him. Athenry was taken and destroyed. Clanricard was plundered, the earl being surprised and unable to collect his

forces. The Earl of Thomond was on the coast driving off a party of O'Malleys, who had come by sea to rob his country, and arrived in Clanricard only after O'Donnell had got away with his plunder.

Clifford came to Connaught in February with about twelve hundred foot and two hundred horse, and acted vigorously. He relieved the garrisons and went into Mayo, where he captured John MacMorris, an adherent of MacWilliam, in Brees Castle. Then, his men being worn out after living on beef and water for fifteen days, and his ammunition being spent, he disposed his men in garrisons in Mayo and Sligo. Sligo Castle was recovered, and held by O'Conor Sligo with some of Clifford's men. In a skirmish at Ballysadare, Richard, son of William, son of Sir Richard Bourke, was killed.

O'Donnell, being unable to keep his forces together, had gone away, leaving Niall Garve and some soldiers to uphold MacWilliam. These went into Tirawley, where they captured Oliver, son of Sir Richard Bourke, and broke down David an Fraoch's house of Castlereagh.

By the end of May Clifford had hunted MacWilliam out of Connaught, rescuing his pledges of the Bourkes, Clan Jonyns, and Clan Maurices. O'Neill and O'Donnell wanted Clifford to stay operations for negotiations, but Clifford, like Bingham, saw no reason to stay his action because the enemy disliked it. Having shown his power to protect from O'Donnell he obtained submission all round. By his brother-in-law O'Conor Sligo's mediation, Tibbot na Long came to terms and offered to serve the queen, handing in a statement of his demands at Lehinch on the 24th April.

Tibbot na Long and Richard Mac an Deman an Corrain, and the chief gentlemen of Mayo, met Clifford at Castlebar and made peace, presenting a very humble submission and petition for pardon. The articles of peace were signed on the 20th May. They agreed to pay within one year the arrears of the composition since the last collection in Sir Richard Bingham's time, to provide the rising out, to receive the sheriff and other officers, to sue for their pardons, which Sir C. Clifford engaged that the government should grant, to give such pledges as he should require, to receive such garrisons in such places as he should think fit, and to provide them with beef, to be allowed for out of the composition rent. It was signed by Olyverus MacShane Bourke, Olyverus MacEdmond, Thybbott Bourke, Ricard Boork *alias* the Devil's Hook's son, Davy in Ry Boork, O'Malley, named Une O'Malley, MacJordan, Edmond Evaghery, Thomas ny Capell. These names are taken partly from an original at Westport House, which must have been a duplicate in possession of Tibbot na Long, now not entirely legible, and partly from a copy in the Public Record Office in London, in which the names are given somewhat differently, being not exact copies, or possibly copied

from another original, in which they used a different form. It is certified that these signed, for brevity's sake, on behalf of all the other gentlemen and freeholders of the county, and that those present, to whom the agreement was read and explained, assented to and bound themselves to it.

On the 8th June a general pardon was given to all in Connaught, except Theobald MacWalter Kittagh, Brian Og, and Teig O'Rourk, and Ferragh MacHugh.

The following is the list of the pledges, who were given immediately :—

1. Moyler Bourke—Tibbot na Long's son, for himself and his sept of Ulick (saving the Devil's Hook).
2. Davy Bourke—The Devil's Hook's son, as pledge for himself and his followers only.
3. Edmond O'Malley—O'Malley's son, for himself and his sept and followers.
4. Goree MacDonnell—Mac an Ab the chief of the Clandonnells' son, for self, sons, and followers.
5. Walter MacDonnell—For the sept of Rury Og MacDonnell, himself, and followers.
6. Hugh Boy MacDonnell—Mulmory MacRanell MacDonnell's son, for himself and his brothers.
7. William Bourke—Davy MacMoyler, MacWalter Fada's brother, for himself and his followers.
8. Brian MacThomas Reaugh—MacJordan's pledge.
9. Walter MacJordan—Thomas ne Capell MacJordan's son, for himself and followers.
10. Colla MacDonnell — For the Clandonnells of Costello and Sleight Markys, Marcus MacFerry's son as pledge.
11. Shane Boy—For the Clan Jordans of Costello.
12, 13. MacWalter and Ricard Boy's son — Walter Fooff Mac Moyler's son, and Ricard Boy MacShane MacMoyler's son, as pledges for them and their followers.

Clifford reported that at least 5000 were famished in Connaught, and that he had great difficulty in feeding his army owing to the wasting of the country. To this pitch it had been brought by the rebels and O'Donnell.

Tibbot na Long's demands had been received by Clifford, and in part approved by him, but not to be confirmed to him unless he should do service deserving confirmation, and had been sent over to England for orders. On the 25th June the Privy Council of England expressed great satisfaction with the peace and submission of the Mayo septs, and directed that the pledges be treated well. On

the same day orders were passed on Tibbot na Long's demands. The way they were dealt with confirms the opinion, derived from other circumstances, that he was now the real leader of the Bourkes.

"He undertook, with the aid of Her Majesty's forces, to banish Tibbot MacWalter, the now MacWilliam; for reward of that service to have all MacWilliam's lands to be assured unto him, and in lieu of the name of MacWilliam to have some title to be bestowed upon him according to the worthiness of his service.—A style was granted, whereof consideration should he had; the lands also, conditionally that it should bear the composition which Sir Richard Bingham had formerly imposed upon it.

"That the lands in Co. Mayo taken from the possessors in Sir R. Bingham's time and conferred upon others may be restored to the right owners.—This large demand was denied.

"That the benefit of Her Majesty's letters in the behalf of his brother Moroghe ne Muyre [O'Flaherty], and the like for Donnell O'Mayley his mother['s brother], might be confirmed unto him if he would become a good subject.—Granted.

"He demanded all the lands of such persons as were then in rebellion in Co. Mayo to be granted unto him and his heirs.—There was granted unto him all the rebels' lands that were of his own sept.

"He demanded the castle and lands of Castlebarry.—Denied.

"Pardons for sundry persons.—Granted.

"That for seven years such as depended upon him should not be questioned for any harms done.—Suspended.

"He demanded such portions of MacWilliam's seigniory as was by the Lord General's last parley agreed upon.—Granted.

"A company of foot in the Queen's pay.—Granted.

"A commission to grant protections in the Co. Mayo.—Mitigated."

Tibbot valued his own services very highly, and the government was ready to give him good consideration for them, but as he could not fulfil his part by banishing MacWilliam the agreement fell through. Nevertheless he was treated always after this with great consideration, and without doubt he did the government very good service, and was faithful to his engagements as far as it was possible for him to stand to them, but there were occasions yet to come when he had to shift for himself as best he could.

Apparently in order to carry off cattle to Ulster, O'Donnell brought MacWilliam into Tirawley at the end of June, and left him there with Rury, Hugh's brother, and a body of soldiers. Clifford sent O'Conor Sligo and Tibbot na Long against them, and posted himself at Collooney to cut off their retreat. MacWilliam and Rury tried to escape through the Ox Mountains, and passed the river near Collooney before day on the 29th June. The garrison, discovering them, captured 1200

cattle and killed 200 men besides stragglers in pursuit. MacWilliam and Rury escaped with a few men.

At the end of July Clifford led his forces to Ballyshannon, where he maintained the siege for five days, when he was obliged to retire on receipt of news that Lord Burgh, who had marched against Tyrone, had retreated, leaving Tyrone free to join his forces to those of O'Donnell and Maguire and O'Rourk. He beat off O'Donnell's attack, and was not molested after passing Bunduff. On the way back he intercepted letters from the Clandonnells offering to join O'Donnell if Clifford failed to take Tyrconnell. Orders were sent to Tibbot na Long to arrest the Clandonnells.

At this time 700 beeves had been paid on account of arrears of composition rent of Mayo, but it was impossible to press for more. The country was so exhausted that it was harder to keep soldiers in Connaught than elsewhere.

Towards the end of September, O'Neill and O'Donnell sent MacWilliam into Mayo with 700 men and Feriagh MacHugh and Ulick Burke, the murderer of George Bingham, while themselves prepared to meet another invasion by Lord Burgh. Clifford writes that MacWilliam means to keep himself in Mayo during the winter by the strength of the bogs and woods, presuming that Clifford cannot follow him for want of victuals. "This is true, the waste of the country is grown so great."

In other respects MacWilliam failed to understand the situation. Tibbot na Long fell on him, and killed his brother Thomas and 40 of his men. He had to fly to Ulster again. All his followers in Mayo applied to Clifford for protection, and promised to give in their pledges by the end of October.

Clifford gives a summary of results up to the 30th September, as follows, in reference to Mayo:—

At his coming all Mayo was in rebellion except William Bourke of Shrule and his son, Oliverus MacShane and his brother Edmond, William Bourke FitzRichard who flew into Munster, MacMorris and Davy MacMorris.

After Tibbot na Long came in, MacWilliam took Oliverus prisoner, whom Clifford redeemed.

Tibbot and the Devil's Hook, and others to the number of 1000, had come in and given pledges.

MacWilliam had lost 200 of his men in July. At his coming in this month his brother Thomas and one of the chief commanders of the MacDonnells, with 30 or 40 of his men, were slain. He has only 200 to 300 of this county and 400 from Tirconnell, 700 in all.

The provincial rebels are 4800 foot at least and 400 horse.

The principal prisoners reserved upon several killings were John

MacJonyn, John MacMorris, Edmond Melaghlen, Davy MacRicard Bourke.

He had taken and kept the important castles of the Brees, Castlebar, and Ballinderry in Galway.

According to the Four Masters, John Og, son of Richard, son of John of the Termon, was slain by some of the ClanDonnell in a night attack on the island of Annies in Lough Carra. These MacDonnells were probably rebels, but it may have been the result of a private quarrel.

By the middle of November the settlement of the country was advanced so far that sheriffs were put in Mayo and Sligo, where none had been for three years. Clifford engaged most of the late rebels and put them in some band of soldiers. Tibbot na Long and his brother Oliverus, and Ulick MacEdmund Bourke, and David MacUlick e Temple (an Timchill) and Morogh ne Moyre O'Flaherty were made captains over their own men. At the end of the year only the O'Malleys and Tibbot MacWalter Kittagh were actually in rebellion, and the latter was hourly expected from Ulster. He came in January 1598, and was quickly expelled.

A truce made with Tyrone and O'Donnell was extended from time to time until the 7th June. The negotiations fell through because they insisted that Theobald should have the seigniory and lands of MacWilliam. They were obliged to insist on terms for their confederates to save their credit for the future. The queen was not yet beaten to the degree of restoring the abolished chieftainships and abandoning the government of their countries.

On the 14th August the English suffered their greatest defeat at the Yellow Ford from Tyrone and O'Donnell, with whom were MacWilliam and 1000 Connaughtmen in O'Donnell's pay. This defeat materially affected the position in Connaught. Reporting the state of Connaught on the 13th September, Clifford writes that the queen controlled fifty or sixty castles, and that the owner of any one of them would come to him on a mere message or surrender the castle ever since MacWilliam was banished, though they were only upon protection, and desirous of receiving pardons. "On the first day of MacWilliam's coming with O'Donnell's whole force, Mayo and Sligo are entirely lost." If MacWilliam get footing again, all must join. No pledges can hold them in face of certain loss of their cattle.

Two of the MacDonoghs of Corran had got possession of Ballymote Castle in June by treachery. They now offered to sell it to Sir Conyers Clifford. O'Donnell came with a large army at the end of September, to buy it or take it. It was not easy to take this the greatest castle in Connaught except Ballintubber. He agreed therefore to pay the very high price of £400 and 300 cows. The latter he

acquired quickly by a raid into Roscommon and Galway, paid the price and received possession.

About the same time he sent MacWilliam to Mayo with O'Doherty and MacSwiney Banagh, who took a number of cattle from the Owles and drove them off to Ulster. MacWilliam was now set up again in Mayo. The rebels were soon reported to be 2000 foot and 200 horse, increasing daily by the coming of Scots. Tibbot na Long was obliged to live on the sea. An O'Brien was set up against Lord Thomond. Clifford could do nothing with only 120 English soldiers. The government in Dublin, terrified by the defeat of the Yellow Ford, thought only of their own safety. Thus all Connaught was abandoned except the town of Galway, which held its own, and a few castles held by small garrisons.

In the beginning of 1599 the whole country was at the mercy of O'Donnell, who made Ballymote his headquarters. When he made a raid into Thomond with a large force at the end of January, he sent a party under MacWilliam and Niall Garbh O'Donnell into Mayo, who plundered from Costello to the Owles without opposition.

"MacWilliam and Niall Garbh arrived with their forces at the island of Leathardan, and they attacked the place boldly and fiercely, and though the defence was made against them bravely it did not profit those who made it, for they leaped from every side and quarter into the place among them. Eighteen of the chief men of Clangibbon were slain and slaughtered, and a great number of others besides. The place was plundered by them also." (F.M.)

This island seems to have been a crannog on the little lake of Lahardane, about a mile from Aghagower. On its west side is a small mound which may have been an island or peninsula before the lake was lowered. It is so small that it is difficult to believe that many men were inside it. This is the only case I know of in this county of occupation of a crannog as a crannog by Anglo-Norman settlers. In other cases a stone castle was built. The detachment rejoined O'Donnell on his way back to Ballymote. The despatch of a party to rob in Mayo shows how little real support O'Donnell got there.

At the end of last year the English government sent 1000 men under Sir Arthur Savage, and £1500 to Sir Conyers for Connaught, forbidding the Irish government to divert them. These men did not arrive until February. In March Clifford began the restoration of government by recovering Clare and Galway, but was called away by Lord Essex to the south, and so obliged to leave Mayo and the north alone. The rebels were now computed at 600 foot and 60 horse under MacWilliam and the Joys.

In July Clifford was ordered to relieve Collooney, and to rebuild

the castle of Sligo. He arranged that Tibbot na Long, with Morogh na Maor O'Flaherty under him, should take ships to Sligo with provisions, military stores, and building materials, and meet him after the relief of Collooney. Tibbot brought his ships round and anchored in Sligo Bay, watched by a detachment from O'Donnell's army.

Now the English suffered the defeat of the Yellow Pass in the Curlews. The Bourkes of Mayo who were in the queen's service were probably with him, but Oliver Bourke and Theobald Dillon are the only Mayo men mentioned.

On reaching Boyle from Tulsk on the 15th August, 1599, Clifford heard that the pass was not held by the enemy. At 4 P.M. of a dark rainy day he left Boyle to get through the pass, which was watched and guarded. The forces of O'Rourk and MacDermot fell on his men, routed them, and killed him and Sir Henry Radcliff. The army was saved by the cavalry, whose vigorous charge checked pursuit, but with loss to themselves.

The English loss, according to the official return, was 10 officers and 231 men slain; 12 officers and 196 men wounded, out of a force of 1496. The army was badly led, and was fairly beaten and routed by a lesser number skilfully led, but was not broken up and was not pursued. Nevertheless, being fairly beaten in the open, it was so demoralised and disheartened that the men were dispersed into garrisons to recover spirit. The results show how complete the beating was.

O'Conor Sligo surrendered and entered into alliance with O'Donnell, who gave him cattle and sheep, and set him up as a chieftain.

The day after the battle O'Donnell came to the sea-shore, and begged Tibbot to give him some wine, and invited him to come himself to help to drink it. Tibbot was cautious, and refused to land; but on receiving pledges, sent Morogh na Maor and Baxter, who tells this tale, and Captain Coatch, with a barrel of wine. O'Donnell tried to get Morogh to arrange with Tibbot that they should seize the English ships, and hand them over to him. Tibbot would not lend himself to this scheme, and brought his little fleet back to Galway.

Tibbot and his brother and O'Malley had three good galleys, each able to carry 300 men, at this place. Captain Fildew's galley had been taken by treachery in 1595, and two more had been built on that model.

For some time no governor was appointed. Sir Arthur Savage was usually in chief command of the forces, associated sometimes with Lord Dunkellin. Civil government was practically in abeyance.

Yet the victory did not lay all Connaught under the feet of the rebels. Lord Clanricard killed 100 of Redmond Burke's party in Clanricard, and took prisoner Ricard Og MacJonyn, who was executed. This man had been for years one of the most energetic of the Mayo rebels, and had gone out at every opportunity. Tibbot na Long and the other captains in the queen's pay, by having men in pay under their command, were able to make head against MacWilliam. In September Tibbot was able to besiege MacWilliam, who was relieved by O'Donnell.

Some of the O'Malleys and O'Flahertys, with five or six galleys and a number of boats, stationed themselves in the Shannon below Limerick, in order to help the rebels by transport of supplies, and to hamper the passage of the river by the queen's subjects.

In December O'Donnell came to Mayo, and arranged for a truce until May between the two Tibbots. The terms do not appear, but we can infer that they agreed not to attack each other in Mayo, but to be free to act outside Mayo as they pleased. It also seems to have restricted MacWilliam to his own barony of Tirawley. The Bourkes of Kilmaine did not adhere to him. Whatever the arrangement may have been, it left the Mayo men in peace among themselves until 1601. They fought in other regions, some for the queen, some against her.

In the beginning of the year 1600 the fortunes of Tyrone and O'Donnell reached their highest point. Tyrone had carried the war into Munster. O'Donnell had nearly all Connaught under his power. After Lord Mountjoy's coming to the government in the spring, their power waned under a new system of attack. The system of sending armies in force to attack an enemy who took refuge in woods and mountains, and who came out only when opportunity offered for successful attack in advantageous conditions, had failed, because such large bodies could not be maintained for long, and sometimes suffered great disaster. The forces were not enough to occupy the whole country at once in irresistible strength. The system which was effective against highly organised and civilised states was ineffective against slightly organised tribes.

The Irish method of warfare was adopted. The Irish made raids, robbed, burnt, and destroyed the enemy's country until he submitted to avoid further loss. Their eagerness to carry away their plunder made their warfare less effective than it might have been. It was very satisfactory to the Ulster chiefs, as it had been before to those of Leix, for they made raids around them, carried off much cattle and goods, and thus their countries prospered greatly, so long as the queen's armies came in large bodies and left the country again. For they got easy terms for submission, and did not restore their

plunder or make good their damage. Leix had prospered amazingly as long as the queen's soldiers were kept out while the people of Leix plundered around them. Lord Sussex had ended those ideal conditions by adopting Irish methods. So now again Lord Mountjoy and Sir George Carew set to work in the Irish fashion in Ulster and Munster. They destroyed growing corn and everything that could serve the enemy. Giving time to the work, and having the advantage of organisation and discipline, they did it thoroughly.

In the middle of May Sir Henry Docwra landed in the Foyle with 4000 foot and 200 horse, harassed the country constantly, extending his power and establishing garrisons, and soon brought over to the queen's side Niall Garbh O'Donnell and O'Doherty. Thus Ulster was being attacked on both sides.

Connaught and Mayo were left alone. The government was not strong enough to do everything at once. All Connaught was ready to submit as soon as the power of O'Donnell and O'Neill was broken in Ulster, and it was not in the meantime a source of strength to Ulster. O'Donnell domineered there while his strength was being sapped in Ulster. From this time his presence in Connaught may be taken to mark real weakness. His proper place was in his own country protecting his people. He could not protect them effectively. His enemy was steadily gaining ground.

Dermot O'Conor, son of Dualtagh O'Conor, of the O'Conor Donn family, commanded 1500 Connaughtmen, who formed a strong element in the rebel forces of Munster. On the 12th March he sent a company, commanded by Ricard Bourke, into Lord Barry's barony of Ibaune to levy money and food. Lord Barry's nephew, with 100 men of his own and some men from the garrisons, attacked the company, which he drove away, killing Ricard and Theobald Bourke, MacTibbot Bourke's two sons, Teig and Owen O'Malley, and other leaders, and about 60 men. But he was killed himself. The names show that this was a company of Mayo men.

In August Teig O'Kelly and Walter MacCostello, two chief leaders of rebels under James Fitz-Thomas and Pierce Lacy, were killed by the Knight of Kerry. The Mayo men were evidently doing a fair share of the fighting in that country.

Dermot O'Conor retired to his own country after the failure of his treacherous seizure of the Sugan Earl of Desmond in order to hand him over to Sir George Carew. In the autumn he offered to support the Earl of Desmond against the Sugan Earl, and was given a letter of protection to pass into Munster. On the 22nd November he reached Gort with a small force. Tibbot na Long and his cousin, David MacUlick, came up with him with their

companies, attacked him, and drove him into a church, which was set on fire. Forty of his men were killed, and he was captured. Next morning Tibbot hanged him.

Tibbot thought this action worthy of reward, Dermot being a notorious traitor in command of armed men. But Tibbot's action was believed to have been due less to his zeal for the queen's service than to a desire to avenge the death of Tibbot's cousins, Lord Castleconnell and his brother, in whose death Dermot had been concerned. Lord Mountjoy looked on it as a murder, and suspended Tibbot from his employment, intending to dismiss him. But no action was in fact taken. It seems to have been impossible to prove that Tibbot knew of Dermot's arrangement and protection, and it was, on the other hand, known to all men that Dermot had been hitherto an open and active rebel.

O'Donnell had given Theobald the name of MacWilliam, but had failed to invest him with the power and the profits. After four years Theobald's position was worse, as the power of the Sliocht Ulick confined his MacWilliamship to Tirawley. The establishment of Sir H. Docwra's force in Tirconnell altered O'Donnell's own position. It was no longer a question whether he could maintain his Connaught adherents against the queen, but whether he could hold his own country against her. Theobald, seeing the risk of losing all, opened negotiations to secure himself at O'Donnell's expense.

Theobald communicated a project to a Captain A. Blackcaddell, *i.e.* Blake, who passed it on, for submission to Sir Robert Cecil, to Captain Thomas Lee, of the family of Ditchley in Oxfordshire, who had become acquainted with Captain Blake at Galway, which he had left not long before Blake wrote on the 26th June. He designed to carry O'Donnell, and O'Rourk, and half-a-dozen of the principal chieftains of O'Donnell's party off into England, alive or dead. Blake believed the offer to be genuine, but had reasonable doubt whether the queen ought to part with her £1000.

The scheme in detail was as follows. Theobald was sure of a welcome in Tirconnell whenever he came with 300 or 400 men. Under colour of having a place of retreat and safety during troubles in Connaught, for his goods and for his wife to live in, he would get the castle of Killybegs into his own hands by means of mortgage, by lending £800 or £900 to the owner, MacSwiney, whose wife was his sister.

O'Donnell was in the habit of coming to Donegal for rest and conference with a few of his principal chiefs, and for communication with those who came in French and Spanish ships. Theobald being

one of these would watch his opportunity, and had no doubt of his ability to seize O'Donnell and the others and take them, alive or dead, to Killybegs, only twelve miles away, where they could be held against the whole country, until one of the queen's ships, which should be off the coast, could come in and take them off.

His demands were that he should be restored in blood, and should be made Earl of Mayo; to have 150 foot and 50 horse in pay; to have £1000 immediately.

This project was submitted to Sir R. Cecil, who was reminded of it by Captain Lee on the 7th September. Some further communications must have been made, as at the final decision MacWilliam's demands were:—1, The Earldom of Mayo; 2, to be her Majesty's lieutenant of the county; 3, to have 150 horse and 50 foot; 4, to receive at once £1000; 5, O'Rourk to be made lord of his country and her Majesty's lieutenant for it, with 100 horse; 6, Captain T. Lee to be governor of Connaught.

The queen agreed to these demands, except that the £1000 would be paid after performance, and that she would not make Captain Lee governor of Connaught, though she might appoint him elsewhere, but would not be bound.[1] The decision was not made until the 24th December. The refusal to advance the £1000 made it impossible for Theobald to carry out the project. If he had got the £1000, it is not certain that enough would have been left in his hands by the time his negotiations with MacSwiney were over to satisfy MacSwiney, and it is certain that if he had failed to arrange with MacSwiney the queen would not have got her money back. Even after the essential preliminary was arranged, the enterprise would have been full of risk.

In the beginning of 1601 the two Theobalds quarrelled again for unknown reasons. On the 2nd March Tibbot na Long made a sudden attack on MacWilliam, who lost many men and most of his arms, but escaped to Ulster. The scene of attack is not named, but was most likely somewhere in South Mayo, as this success was followed next day by an assembly of the Sliocht Ulick, in which Richard Bourke, the Devil's Hook's son, was proclaimed MacWilliam.

O'Donnell could not help his MacWilliam until after Michaelmas, when he sent him back to Mayo with soldiers. The rivals met in battle, when Richard was killed. Thus the old condition was restored.

H.M.S. *Tremontana* cruised for two months up to the middle of July off Donegal Bay to intercept ships from Spain with supplies for the rebels. It seems to have been their custom to make first for Broadhaven Bay in Erris. In this time she had met only one galley

[1] *S.P.I.E.*, CCVII. part vi. Nos. 98, 100, 101.

of 38 oars with 100 shot on board, which she forced to run on the rocks between Teelin and Killybegs. They fired on a boat, but the *Tremontana* came up and ended the affray with her guns. It was reported that this and another galley manned by O'Flahertys had been fitted out to plunder the MacSwineys. Captain Plessington of the *Tremontana* writes that she belonged to Grace O'Malley, whose base son was her captain. That she belonged to Grace is not unlikely, but that her captain was Grace's base son is untrue. He was probably one of her sons, or an O'Malley, and the error must have arisen in the interpretation of information given in Irish. MacSwiney Banagh was MacWilliam's brother-in-law. These must have been on their way to plunder MacSwiney ne Doe, who was on the English side at this time.

There was no more fighting in Mayo. MacWilliam went with O'Donnell to the relief of Kinsale, and went with him to Spain after the battle of Kinsale. The name of MacWilliam disappeared for ever. This great title seems to have come into use to denote the head of the line of William Og in Connaught in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and may be said to have lasted for exactly three hundred years, if we count the nominal chiefs after Sir Richard Bourke. The Gaelic tribal organisation disappeared with that great name for ever.

Sir Oliver Lambert had but to restore government in a country where resistance was impossible, where, so far as we have material for judgment, almost none were left who wished to resist since the Sliocht Ulick Bourke, the intractable element in Mayo, came over to the queen's side. Warfare and hope of unsettlement by war were over. Organisation and administration on the new basis proceeded in peace.

CHAPTER XXX.

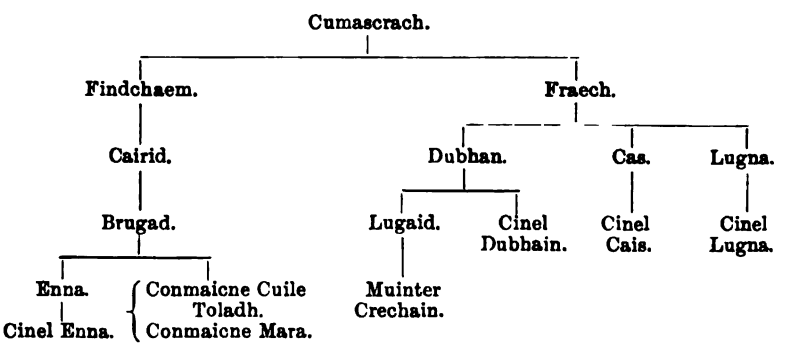
THE BARONY OF KILMAINE.

In the earliest legendary period this country was within the kingdom of Irrusdomnonn, and was inhabited by a Clann Umoir tribe called Tuath Resent Umoir. The Partraighe in the western part and in Ross were of that race.

Afterwards the great tribes called Conmaicne and Ciarraighe and Corcamogha grew up, whom I take to be descendants of a Fergus of the Fir Craibe race, who has been confused with Fergus MacRoigh of Ulster. They settled over the old tribes as the Ui Briuin and Silmurray settled on other tribes, and were the mainstay of the Ui Briuin kings of Connaught, being in fact the royal tribes, as the Silmurray were in later times.

Their settlement was at the expense of the kingdom of Irrusdomnonn, and marks the decay of the Gamanraighe power before that of Fir Craibe and of the Tuatha Taidhen, as shown in the list of kings of Connaught. The Ui Briuin having gained ascendency in Connaught were able to settle themselves upon weaker neighbours in Roscommon, and Mayo, and Galway.

The following genealogy from the Book of Fenagh, though it cannot be taken as accurate, may be taken to express the tribal relationships of the Conmaicne families of Mayo and Galway :—



Cairid and a daughter of Enna, son of Brugad, are said to have been contemporaries of St. Patrick.

The Conmaicne of Cuil Toladh occupied the baronies of Ross and Kilmaine, except the parts north of the Robe, and a tract in the east of Kilmaine occupied by the Muinter Crechain. The other clans seem to have been under the Cinel Dubhain, called also "of Dunmore." The Cinel Enna seem to have been on the southern slope of Slieve Dart.[1]

The chief of the Cuil Toladh Clan bore the name of O'Talcharain. These tribes make little show in the annals and legends.

The great cairns and other monuments in the country between Ballinchalla and Cross show it to have been the seat of a great reigning family in prehistoric times.

Cuil Toladh (Corner of Piercing), seems to have been applied to the country of Cong, where the waters sink and rise among the rocks.

The country about Kilmaine is distinguished by important forts, which mark it as the residence of the local chiefs, if not of principal kings. Lisnatreanduff in Ballymartin is a singular fort. It has three deep ditches, whose sides were once faced with stone. A strong stone wall surrounded the space inside the inner ditch. Similar walls were on the top of the inner sides of the other ditches, and a smaller wall was on the outer edge of the outer ditch. Four entrances, dividing the defences into quadrants, gave access by ground of the natural level. It was probably the greatest fort in Mayo of the earth and stone type, and must have been an impressive building in its time.

Rausakeera (Rath Essa Caerach), near Kilmaine, where the Blind Abbot and Theobald Bourke were inaugurated MacWilliam, is a common earthen fort with a slight ditch and a souterrain inside. This use suggests that it was the inauguration place of former chieftains, adopted by the Bourkes.

As noted before, the whole cantred came into the hands of Maurice FitzGerald. When Sir Maurice FitzMaurice died in 1288, it was divided between his daughters Amabill and Juliana. The Earl of Kildare's Red Book notes many deeds conveying Amabill's share to John FitzThomas, which give a glimpse of territorial subdivision. Of her share the western part seems to have been known as Lough Mask, and the rest to have been known as Dannocharne, Athecarta, Moyenry, Kollnegassill, Molesuarne. The first and last I take to be meant for Domnach Uarain and Maol Lios Uarain, the divisions of a large denomination known as Uaran, the Fountain. Petty's map places the former near Fountain Hill and Kilmainebeg. Maol Lis survives in Mweelis, near Roundfort. In modern dress these five would be Donaghoran or Church Fountain, Carras, the Heath, Cloonagashell, Mweelis-Oran or Roundfort Fountain.[2]

[1] Healy, "Life and Writings of St. Patrick," 221. [2] *R.S.A.I.*, xxxi. 32.

As John FitzThomas gave the manors of Lough Mask and Donaghoran to the earl as compensation, it is probable that the whole of his share was organised in those two manors.

After this transfer it seems to have passed into the hands of Sir William de Burgo or of his sons, as tenants under the earl. But he may have been in possession already as tenant of considerable portions, inherited from his father, as we find the descendants of his brothers John and Philip in possession of large freehold estates.

From Juliana the northern half passed to her De Clare descendants. Of their connection with it we know only that Margaret de Badelesmere, as co-heiress of her brother Thomas, killed in 1318, held a messuage and a garden and half of a weir in Ballinrobe, which was then a small town. It is most likely that the castle of Ballinrobe and most of her lands were let to Sir William or one of his sons. At the first occupation of the country Maurice FitzGerald must have given the western part, forming the bulk of the barony of Ross, to a Joy. This is the only family of the original colonists which survived to the sixteenth century.

By unrecorded means the whole came into possession of MacWilliam. Much land must have been held by small freeholders and on burgage tenure, but all disappeared with the English law save the great freeholders of Clan Jonyn, Clan Meyler, and Sleight vic Tibbot. The remainder, exclusive of the ecclesiastical lands and those reserved as demesnes of the castles belonging to the title of MacWilliam, were assigned in freehold to branches of MacWilliam's family or to MacDonnells in payment for military service, all subject to MacWilliam's customary exactions or rights of service.

The great partition began at the death of Sir Thomas Bourke, when his sons were provided with hereditary estates, as is shown in the notes on the *Historia et Genealogia Familiae de Burgo.*

When baronies were formed it was intended that Kilmaine should consist of the lands of MacWilliam, Sleight Walter, Clan Jonyn, Clan Meyler, and Sleight vic Tibbot. Muinter Crechain was thrown into Carra because the Bourkes of Bellanaloob were chieftains over it. The list of townlands of Muinter Crechain shows the position of their territory, but not the original extent of land held by that tribe, which may have been more. The whole Bellanaloob estate bore the name. Later it was found more convenient to bring the estate into Kilmaine because the Muinter Crechain part was not conveniently situated to form a part of Carra. The whole estate was put at 32 quarters in the composition, but it was much larger, being nineteen towns according to the *Hist. et Gen.* This agrees with inquisitions of 4th April 1609 and 11th January 1610, which recite that David Bourke of Bellanaloob had a head rent of 3s. 4d. from each quarter of the 80 quarters

of Muinter Crechain. This must have come to him by the distribution of the head rents granted in the composition to MacWilliam.

Thus the part lying north of the Robe came into the barony. According to D. MacFirbis, in his Great Book of Genealogies, the estates of Sir Thomas Bourke were divided between five sons, who were thus settled: Walter in Conmaicne Chuile, Edmond na Fesoige in Clann Chuain, Richard of Turlach in Tuath Truim, John in Muinter Chreachain, and Thomas Og in Pobal Ghearr.

The descendants of Walter and Edmond and Richard are found in those lands. John is probably the son who died of the plague in 1384. The important family of Bellanaloob, who cannot be connected with the Bourkes of Carra and Kilmaine, may be assumed to have been John's descendants.

Thomas Og is called also Thomas of Moyne. The Pobal Ghearr must be the same as Eraght Thomas. Lord Clanricard's claim in 1566 and 1571, and an inquisition of 4th April 1609, show that Moyne was part of Eraght Thomas. It must be included within one of the Ballys in *Hist. et Gen.* It is recited that Eraght Thomas consisted of eighteen towns divided between five brothers, of whom two conveyed their shares to the first Earl of Clanricard, who entered into the castle of Moyne and all the territory except a mill and four acres at Moyne. In the end the earl got Moyne and four quarters and two quarters in Ballymartin.

The dispute of 1566 was with MacWilliam, that of 1571 was with Walter FitzJohn Bourke, a man of considerable importance whom I cannot connect with the Sliocht Walter, and whom I suspect in the circumstances to have claimed as one of the hereditary owners of Eraght Thomas. The family of Thomas Og seems to have been extinct by the end of the century. Their extinction would result in the division of the inheritance, or of as much as was left, between the descendants of Walter, whose descendants we find to have become owners of parts of this territory.

The rest of the barony of Kilmaine, exclusive of the ecclesiastical lands, was held in demesne by MacWilliam and by the great clans mentioned. At the close of the century only two or three Gaelic families, besides the newly imported MacDonnells, were owners of freehold land, and they held very little.

Bellanaloob and the part of the estate lying north of the river Robe were no part of Muinter Crechain, though that name came to cover the whole estate. Sliocht Walter likewise held a part of ancient Carra.

These three estates were minor chiefries carved out of the cantred of Conmaicnecuile and part of Carra, and each probably originally included a quantity of freeholders' lands which paid only fixed rents.

The arrangements must have been much modified in this respect in course of time since the first assignment, which should have been made by Sir Thomas or after his death.

The Sliocht Walter estate was further subdivided. William of Shrule, head of the sept in 1585, had 80 quarters with his freeholders. Edmond of Cong and his freeholders had 48 quarters. The Bourkes of Cloonagashel, grandsons of Richard III., had a large estate, the extent not exactly stated. These latter estates seem to have been minor chiefries. Other Bourkes had minor estates, such as those of Monycrower. It is impossible to make out any system of assignment of hereditary estates of any particular amount to junior branches of these clans. So far as the evidence goes, we may say that a certain amount in Kilmaine was allotted for maintenance of the dignity of MacWilliam, namely, the castles of Ballinrobe, Lough Mask, and Kinlough, with their demesne lands. The rest was divided, and each sept in turn subdivided its inheritance. MacWilliam had rights as chieftain over all. The only thing that comes out clearly is that there was no system of redistribution at intervals, as has sometimes been alleged. These remarks apply equally to all the families of colonists. But our evidence is slight, and the later tenures were no doubt considerably affected by the earlier English tenures.

The MacSeonins were the next family of importance. They owned a considerable estate lying mainly from Kilmaine eastwards, but as we have not records of their tenures until the seventeenth century inquisitions, when many changes had taken place, their original estates cannot be exactly defined. They were a very large family, and occupied many castles and lands as tenants of the Archbishop of Tuam and of the Bourkes. This name is now rendered Jennings.

MacTibbot of the Crich was the head of the family called the Sliocht Mhic Teboid na Criche. His castle of the Crich was in the townland of the Creevagh in the parish of Kilmolara. The sept owned lands thereabouts, and Rahard, and Cuslough, and near Annies on the shore of Loch Carra. "Every MacWilliam has a penny and thirteen ounces in the country of MacTibbot's sept in Cos Locha." To the family of MacTibbot may be attributed the thirteenth or fourteenth century manor house called the castle of Cuslough, and formerly the castle of Ballyneglonty, Town of the Cloons—*i.e.* Cloonliffen, Cloonenagh, and other cloons near it.

The family did not increase. There were but few members of it in the sixteenth century.

The MacMeylers of the Neale held an estate about the Neale, adjoining that of the MacTibbots. MacMeyler was a juror of one of the inquisitions taken for the preparation of the indenture of composition. They did not increase; were a small family like the

MacTibbots. The greater part of their estate was sold by them to Mr. John Browne, but some of them retained their shares in the castle and lands of the Neale into the seventeenth century.

The Clandonnell Gallowglass spread all over Mayo, found in every barony except Ross, and Murrisk, and Erris. In many cases they were ordinary tenants under the Bourkes and other lords, but they held much land as bonaught, fees for military service, which they held of the Crown after Sir Henry Sidney's arrangement with Sir John Bourke in 1586. In this barony they were settled in the castles and lands of Aghalahard, Ballykine, Mocorha, Moylla or Hollymount, Togher, and Liskillen.

Their appearance in Ireland was a consequence of the settlement in Antrim of John Mor MacDonnell, son of John of Islay, upon his marriage with Margery Bisset, heiress of the Glens, about 1399. The wars of the Kings of Scotland with the Clandonnells caused much dispersal, to which we may ascribe the appearance of so many MacDonnells in Ireland about that time as constables of Gallowglasses.

Sir Henry Sidney mentions seven lineages, or families, as coming from Mayo. Their relationships cannot be made out, but they held together very much as a clan, having a "MacDonnell" as chief, whereby they had great influence in the country. At the close of the sixteenth century they were only country gentlemen, no longer the leaders of drilled mercenary soldiers.

Their principal settlements were in Kilmaine, Carra, Burrishoole, and Tirawley, under the Bourkes, those in Clanmorris, Costello, and Gallen being insignificant.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE BARONY OF CARRA.

CARRA was a well-defined territory from early times, occupied by old Domnonian clans. After the fourth century Hy Fiachrach clans settled over them, leaving in view only a few families of the Partry in Odhbha if, as is probable, their descent from Fiachra is fictitious. Odhbha included the parishes of Ballintubber and Ballyheane, in yet earlier times when the Partry had their own king.

MacFirbis's tract on the Hy Fiachrach gives a detailed account of the families settled in Carra and Tirawley and Erris, defining the seat of many families with great accuracy as they were about the thirteenth century. The chieftains of Carra were of the families of O'Tierney, O'Murray, MacNeill, O'Gormghail, and used the title of king. The Clann Cuain, known also as Fir Thire and Fir Siuire, Men of Siuir, the river which flows by Castlebar, had as chieftain O'Cuinn. Their territory comprised the parishes of Clancowane, now called Aglish, Islandeady, Turlough, Breaghwy, and Kildacommoge, and seems to have been the same as that of the earlier Corcu Themne. Clann Cuain transferred its allegiance to MacDermot in the twelfth century, under the circumstances stated in Chapter V.

By the thirteenth century the tribal distinction between Odhbha and Carra was lost. The whole was divided between Carra and Clancowane. The Hy Fiachrach clans were so feeble that Torlogh Mor's descendants were being settled over them, as they had settled over the Domnonians 600 years before. None survived as freeholders to the close of the sixteenth century. We know only the names and positions of these tribes.

Fert Lothair, Aenach, and Loch Buadhaigh are named as the three royal forts of Carra. Fert Lothair is mentioned as occupied by Ailill Inbandha when St. Cormac visited him. There is no indication of its position or of that of Loch Buadhaigh. Aenach was in O'Gormgialla's lordship to the south of Toberloona. The great fort in the field to the north of Liskillen farmyard is likely to be the place. It was a fort of the first rank, having a diameter of 104 feet within the wall inside the inner ditch, a wall on the rampart between the inner and outer ditches, and a wall on the outer edge of the

outer ditch; and all the faces of these ditches were revetted with stones.

When the O'Conors, who seem to have held all Carra as principal chiefs, were ejected by Richard de Burgo in 1236, Carra was let out in two great fees, called Carra and Clancowane.

Adam Staunton, a great baron of Kildare, or his son Philip, got Carra, wherein he built Castlecarra immediately, one of the earliest Norman castles in Mayo, but the present building in ruins may be of later date. The wall across the isthmus may well be original. He founded also a small town, whereof only the name survives in Burriscarra.

Adam was succeeded by his son Philip, and he by his son Adam, who died in 1299. His estates were divided between five daughters. Carra, having been assigned first to Nesta and another, became the share of Nesta. When her father died she was married to Simon de Flatisbury, but by 1316 was wife of Fromund Le Brun. By 1325 Fromund and Nesta had transferred the manor of Carra to John, Earl of Louth. I find no indication of the further devolution of the estate.

The original grantee gave a large fee to one of his relations, from whom came the Stauntons of Carra, known as Mac an Mhilidh in Irish, now MacEvilly. MacEvilly owned the castle of Kinturk, which was most likely the original fee, and the castle of Manulla until 1592, and Kilvonell, now called Castlebourke, and Castlecarra. Castlecarra was the manor house, and head of the fee. Its devolution is uncertain, but it was in MacEvilly's hands until it was sold to Lord Trimleston in Sir N. Malbie's time, and by him to Captain W. Bowen in 1586.

We have no genealogy of this family. It was said to derive from a Bernard Staunton. A Bernard was extant in the thirteenth century, who had a son Philip. A Sir Bernard of Connaught was alive in 1333.

A branch of the Stauntons took the name of MacUlkin or MacHulkin. Some owned Ballybanan and other townlands in that district.

A family of Branaghs or Walshes of Rosslahan, near Welshpool, are the only other early colonists who survived as freeholders to the close of the sixteenth century.

In 1306 a family named Savage held some lands. In 1316 Fromund le Brun and Nesta claimed from William, son of William de Burgo, suit and service in their court of Carra in respect of his freehold in Sauvage's castle, and four vills of land therein. This castle is not identified, but is likely to be Castle Lucas. The name of Le Sauvage survived in the denomination of the eight quarters of land called Levally ne Tavese in the composition, but in the

preliminary inquisition, Levally in Tavase, Halftown of le Sauvage. This is some evidence that Sir William had got a footing in Carra.

From Sir William's brother Philip, and Philip's son John, came the MacPhilpins who are found at Bellabourke and near Castlebar.

The Clancowane division called Clancowane and Fertyr was given to a Barry, whose name survives in Castlebarry. This family gave the rectories of Turlough, Breaghwy, and Kildacommoge to the family abbey of Kilnamullagh near Buttevant. By 1333 the fee had passed to the heir of Peter de Cogan.

The further devolution of these two fees does not appear, but by some means they came into the hands of MacWilliam Bourke. We may accept MacFirbis's statement that Castlebar fell to Edmond na Fesoige, with so much of Carra as was not assigned to the families of his brothers, Walter and Richard and John. His descendants increased rapidly.

His sons, Richard and Ulick, succeeding to the MacWilliamship, founded the two great families called Sliocht Ricaird and Sliocht Ulick. Castlebar remained in possession of the senior line, but Richard's son John founded the more numerous and powerful branch in Tirawley.

Ulick was ancestor of Sliocht Ulick, which spread over Carra and into Burrishoole and Erris, having Ballynacarra as the chief castle.

The MacDonnells of this barony owned the castles of Clooneen and Touaghty. Others lived at Manulla and at Keelogues.

The castle and lands of Donamona belonged to a family of O'Kellys, whose ancestor is said to have settled there in the fifteenth century, as mentioned on p. 156.

At the composition the barony is divided into nine cowrynes or divisions, exclusive of church lands, of nearly equal value, 21 and 22 qrs., except Kinturk and Slewoney of 25 and 24 qrs., and two half cowrynes, and four still smaller denominations amounting to 22 qrs. They seem to have been laid out for some purpose of administration or survey, as they cannot, according to present information, be made to fit into a scheme of assignment of inheritance.

The Earl of Ulster's rent of £16, 13s. 4d. on the two Carra fees, the twenty-four ballies of MacWilliam's mensal lands in the *Hist. et Gen.*, and MacWilliam's composition rent charge of £17, 6s. 8d. on twenty-four towns coincide so closely as to suggest that the latter are based on the original tenures acquired by MacWilliam, that these rents were assigned to the MacWilliamship, and the beneficial occupation to Edmond na Fesoige's family.

Edmund Bourke of Castlebar had an annual rent of £21, 6s. 8d. out of Clancowan, which would be in part his share of the profits of the MacWilliamship.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE BARONY OF TIRAWLEY.

WHEN this country comes into history the family of Fiachra Foltsnathach is settling over the early Domnonian tribes, of whose names only that of the Calry of Moyheleog has survived. The descendants of Fiachra's son Amalgaid, who gave it his name, spread over all this barony and Erris, except the parishes of Killala and Ballysakeery, occupied by the Hy Eachach of the Moy, descended from Eochaidh Breac, son of Dathi.

Amalgaid, son of Fiachra Elgach, is said to have built Carnawley on Mullaghcarn near Killala, as a place for assemblies and fairs, and to have been buried there. Seventy years ago O'Donovan found that the carn on top of the hill had been nearly all removed, but not far from it, on the same hill, he found a monument "like an earthen fort with round stones of great size placed in a circle on its border. The internal diameter of this circle is about seventy-eight feet, and its external diameter is two hundred and forty feet."[1] The arrangement of the boulders marks it as a sepulchral or ceremonial rath, and it is perhaps the actual burying-place of this Fiachra, the carn, like Carnfree, being the place of inauguration. Carnfree is likewise near a sepulchral mound called Duma Selca.

Carn Amalgaid became one of the inauguration places of the King of Hy Fiachrach. It is recorded that if O'Dowda should be in Tirawley he may be inaugurated on Carn Amalgaid; if he should be at Carn Ingine Bhriain he may be inaugurated there; in either case he need not cross over (the Moy). Carn Ingine Bhriain has not been identified. Carn Amalgaid seems to have eventually superseded it, or possibly it was adopted after the conquest of the thirteenth century, when O'Dowda was confined to the barony of Tireragh.

MacFirbis's tract on the Hy Fiachrach gives the names and situations of the families living in Tirawley and Erris who descended from King Amalgaid, son of Fiachra. Seven of his sons left descendants in Tirawley and Erris:—

Enda Crom } in Moyheleog, Crossmolina.
Oengus Finn }
Conall in Moyheleog.

[1] H.F., p. 443.

Oengus in the Lagan, Kilbride, Doonfeeny, Rathreagh.
Eochaidh in Killarduff.
Fergus in Caille Conaill, Bac, Glen Nephin, Bredach.
Fedelmid in Erris.

The part of the county of Sligo lying south of the Bunree river, which was originally in this county, was occupied by O'Moran of Ardnarea as sub-chief under O'Caomain, whose lordship included all Coolcarney from Toomore, and Tireragh to the river Leaffony.

None of Amalgaid, son of Fiachra's descendants attained to the chieftainship of the Hy Fiachrach. We do not find that they had a common chieftain, probably because the king of the whole tribe had three forts in the barony, whereby his influence was felt constantly.

O'Lachtna, lord of Bac and Glen Nephin, was the greatest chieftain next after the king, and perhaps had been in some measure a general chief of the Hy Awley. His lordship comprised the parishes of Kilmoremoy west of the Moy, Ballynahaglish, Kilbelfad, Ardagh, Addergoole, and a small part of Ballysakeery, and perhaps a part of Moygawnagh, where some descendants of Fergus lived. The Abbey of Errew appears to have been the ecclesiastical head of his lordship, and to have owed its greatness to the connection with his tribe, and that of Killala to have owed its superior importance, whereby it became the seat of the bishopric, to its connection with O'Dowda.

The MacFirbises were of the race of O'Lachtna. They lived first in Maghbroin, supposed to lie about Killybrone near Castlegore, and afterwards at Rosserk, and, after the O'Dowdas were turned out of Tirawley, at Lackan MacFirbis in Tireragh, where they built a castle. The MacFirbises were the chief ollavs and poets of O'Dowda. To them we are indebted for the great volume known as the Yellow Book of Lecan, for books of genealogies, and for the detailed accounts of the Hy Fiachrach from which this statement is drawn, and nearly all that we know of the early history of this barony and of Carra.

O'Murray, chief of the Laggan, seems to have been next in importance.

The king of the Hy Fiachrach had his own forts at Inishcoe and Annagh on L. Con, and at Rathfran.

At the Conquest Tirawley was considered to be two cantreds, one called Tirawley, the other called Bac and Glen. Tirawley was let to Nicholas Petit, who enfeoffed Adam Cusack of the whole or part, but the Petit tenure and the chief Cusack tenure had come into the Earl's hands by 1333. The Petit tenure accounts for the grant of the rectories of Rathfran and Kilmoremoy and others to the Priory of Mullingar, which was in the Petit country.

The transactions mentioned hereafter show that Bac and Glen had been let to a lord whose tenure had disappeared, so that Barrett and

others held directly from the Earl in 1333. This chief lord was probably Richard Carew.

The Barretts were the principal colonists, and next after them the Cusacks.

The Barretts came from Munster, where they have left their name to the barony of Barretts in Cork. I give MacFirbis's Genealogy of the Barretts of Tirawley; it is certainly wrong in the early part, but may be right at or soon after Wattin. He says that William Finn may be the same as William Mor na Maigne, who is also called William Breathnach, and that the Welsh White Knight was William Finn's brother, showing that he had no authentic account of the family at that period. We cannot rely on the Irish genealogies alone for Anglo-Norman families until the fourteenth century, when they become accurate regarding important families.

The English records enable us to identify William Mor na Maigne as the man who was killed at the battle of Kilroe. Na Maighne may mean "of the Wound," and this is the probable meaning. At his death he was tenant of the cantred of Bac and Glen and of at least part of Bredagh.

The first mention of a Barrett in Connaught is in 1253, when Adam Petit recovered eleven vills in Bredagh from William Barrett, who had called Richard Carew to warranty.[1] Meddling with Bredagh perhaps cost him his life. The story is of interest as an illustration of the complexity of titles, conflict of obsolete and extant titles, and the consequent opportunities for a quarrel.

In the year 1300 the Prior of Mullingar sued Elias of Dundonnell for the advowson of the church of Bredagh. Elias called the Earl of Ulster to warranty, and pleaded that Walter de Burgo gave to Elias's father, by a charter which he filed, ten vills in Bredagh to which the advowson belonged. The Earl pleaded that his great-grandfather, William de Burgo, being seised of the whole Theodum of Bredagh enfeoffed therein Nicholas le Petyt, who enfeoffed the Prior of the advowson, and afterwards enfeoffed Adam Cusack, senior, of the land. Thus the advowson was separated from the land. Afterwards William Barrett entered on the land, ejecting Adam, who gave ten vills to Richard de Burgo for maintaining him in the remainder. Walter de Burgo gave seven of the vills to Milo de Curcy with his sister, which Milo gave to Elias's father. Elias replied that Walter was seised of the advowson and claimed trial.[2] The result does not appear.

William de Burgo's grant of Connaught never took effect. Adam Cusack's title from him was valueless, so must have been renewed by Richard de Burgo. In January 1299 the Earl of Ulster petitioned

[1] D.I., II., Nos. 292, 474.
[2] Plea Rolls, 30 Ed. I., R. 62, M. 14 D.

the justiciary for seisin of the lands of which William Barrett was seised, which he held of the Earl *in capite*, according to the sheriff's inquisition which had found that William held the cantred of the Bac and Glen by the service of 20 marks yearly, and two knights' fees, and doing suit at the Earl's court, and rendering 39 marks yearly to John Roche, and that the land was worth 20s. yearly beyond these charges. The land had been taken into the king's hand after the death of William in Adam Cusack's prison. The escheator reported that William held all his lands in Connaught of the Earl; that he held also Grennach in Muscry of John de Cogan; Fresketh [in Cork?] of Maurice Rochfort; Alle of Peter Butler; Castelgeych of John de Barry; Drumbolgyn of the Bishop of Ross; Clardor of Maurice de Carew; that William his heir was three years old at his father's death. Seisin was given to the Earl.[1]

Maurice, son of Richard de Carew, summoned William in 1300 to do suit and service which he owes to him for his freehold in Bac and Glen and Bredagh, *i.e.* homage and £4 when royal service runs, as heir of his father William. William admitted the claim, and seisin was ordered to be given to Maurice.[2]

The tenant apparently held directly from two lords. The payment to a Roche shows some unexplained transactions. William Barrett certainly held Bac and Glen in fee. This cantred now comprised only the parishes of Ballynahaglish, Kilbelfad, and Addergoole or thereabouts.

The Munster estates must have been large. Castelgogh, or Castelgeych, Manor comprised 7½ knights' fees held by the service of two knights. He held also land at Tyberneyvin in Limerick from Maurice Rochfort, who seems to have been his chief lord, as William settled with him regarding his marriage, which was valued at £100.

William senior is said to have built Caislen na Circe on the Tirawley bank of the Moy opposite to Foxford, at which a small market town grew up.

William na Maigne had a brother Robert, who survived him.

After 1284 Batin, Thomas, Richard and his son William, and Philip Barrett are mentioned. From Batin the chief of the Barretts took the name of MacBhaitin. He must have been the principal Barrett in Tirawley. He had to pay a fine of £163, 18s. 8d. for peace, and Gilbert Lynet had to pay £33, 6s. 8d. Adam Bretnath paid £3, 6s. 8d. Batin must have had a very large estate to afford such a fine, which we may take to have been imposed for taking part in the battle of Kilroe.

[1] Cal. Just. Rolls, Irel, 1295–1300.
[2] Plea Rolls, 28 Ed. I., R. 47, M. 13 D.

Batin's estate was outside the cantred of Bac and Glen. We may take it to have been in the cantred of Tirawley. Ballysakeery was the castle of the MacWattin of the composition. Belleek was that of a branch of his family who divided their possessions with Walter Kittagh Bourke in 1584.

Batin's son Robert succeeded him, was lord in 1335, and may have lived until 1365. In 1356 Robert was seneschal of Connaught.

The Barretts broke up into several clans, some taking new surnames:—

1. Clann Andriu, who lived in the Bacs, descendants of a Sir Maigiu.

2. Clann Toimin of Erris.

3. Clan Philip or Philpin, descended from Philip or Philpin, grandson of Toimin's brother.

4. Clann Toimilin.

5. Clan Ricin of Glen Nephin, descended from Ricin Og, son of Ricin.

6. Clann MecRoiberd, descended from the son of William Mor na Maighne, whose inheritance is along the river Deel.

The above is MacFirbis's account of these clans as he gives it in the Tract on the Hy Fiachrach. His authorities are at variance, and we cannot give much credit to what was based only on traditions of his day regarding clans of no great importance. The Barretts probably did as the Bourkes in the matter of taking new names, and on those grounds it is probable that the clans MacRobert, Toimin, Philip, Ricin are descendants of the Robert, Thomas, Philip, and Richard, who would have no claim on the inheritance of Batin. According to the pedigree, the clan Andrew did not come from Batin.

A Mathew, son of Mathew Barrett, was extant in 1303, who may be the ancestor.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth century we find the MacAndrews holding much land in the Bacs, MacTomyn in Ballycroy, MacPhilips at Portnahally near Ballycastle and at Dookeeghan in Erris.

One of the Barretts became chief lord of Erris at some time.

MacFirbis failed to disentangle the traditions regarding the earliest Barretts, and worked them into a symmetrical genealogy from the uncertain William of Kilcommon, who had a brother called An Ridire Fionn, the Welsh White Knight. Breathnach comes in also as a name of William. The Barretts seem to have thrown off a clan which adopted Breathnach as a surname, translated again into Welsh. In 1407 a priest is described as "Maurice Bared *alias* Brechnach." I find evidence for a suspicion that the Carra Branaghs of Rosslahan may have been Barretts.

"The Welsh Pauper," An Failghech Breathnach, is made a brother of Batin, and a grandson of William Mor na Maighne. That the Failghech was Batin's brother is very likely to be correct, but he has put them too late. The Failghech and Thomas Barrett were killed at Coill Berrain in 1260 (L.C.). The Failghech left sons who held a good position; it is recorded that Felim O'Conor plundered them and took Richard himself prisoner in 1316 (L.C.). The Clann an Fhailghigh disappears from history until we find the Clannenallies mentioned in 1588, and some families called MacEnally among the small freeholders of Carra and Kilmaine in the early seventeenth century.

Seeing the uncertainty of this genealogy, I am still inclined to think that the Irish used An Failghech as a translation of Le Poher, supposing it to be the French *Le Pauvre*. Some of the names in the pedigree are very unusual.

On the whole, we cannot be sure of more than that several Barretts came from Munster soon after the Conquest and settled in Tirawley.

The Cusacks.

According to MacFirbis, Adam Cusack built the castle of Meelick. Adam Cusack, junior, the victor at Kilroe, owned also the manor of Cuilcnama, the parishes of Skreen and Dromard. He died by 1297, leaving only daughters. One of his daughters surrendered Cuilcnama to the Earl of Ulster. We have no particulars of Adam Cusack's Tirawley estate, but it must have been large. Rathreagh was probably in it, as it was once known also as Cusackstown. Though the great estate ceased to be held by a Cusack, the memory survived, so that in the Division of Connaught the barony of Moyne is described as containing "Tirawley and the Cusacks' country."

A junior branch of the family survived. In the beginning of the seventeenth century Robert Cusack owned the castle and lands of Ross, together with other lands in the parishes of Killala and Ballysakeery.

The Carews.

A branch of this great family also survived. One of them was of sufficient importance to be a party to the Indenture of Composition. His castle of Dunmacnyny has not been identified. His family are later found in possession of Cloonawillin in Ballysakeery, and other lands not identified.

The Lynotts.

Gilbert de Lynet was of sufficient importance to be Sheriff of Connaught from 1287 to 1289. The family appear again as owners of

half the castle and lands of Carn—the other half owned by Carews—and of the lands of Kincon, Ellagh, and Seehaunmore in Kilfian.

The Merricks.

Some of this family survived in possession of a small freehold at Ballyteige in Glenhest, which takes its name from Hosty, whose descendants in the barony of Dunmore are the MacCostys.

The De Exeters.

A branch of this family called Clan Stephen settled at Rathfran, where the monastery was founded by one of the de Exeters in 1274, who probably came in as tenant of another lord of his own family, as the estate held by this family at Rathfran in the sixteenth century was small. This family is dealt with at length in Gallen.

The Lawlesses and Cogans.

MacFirbis says that Sir William Lawless had the country of Caille Conaill. There is some doubtful evidence of a Lawless connection with Ballycastle.

There is reason to suspect that a de Barry owned a fee about Crossmolina, as we find that the Augustinian monastery of Ballybeg, near Buttevant, a de Barry house, owned the rectory of Crossmolina. In 1306, John, son of William de Rathcogan, Walter de Usser, and Walter de Cogan were indicted for robbing the abbot of the monastery of Crossmolina. Rathcogan is a name of Charleville, which was in the Cogan estate in the county of Cork. We may suspect that an estate hereabouts passed like Castlebar from a de Barry to a Cogan.

The Berminghams.

This great family comes into the barony because Ardnarea was within it as originally laid out. But none of the family settled permanently. At or soon after the Conquest, Peter de Bermingham held the manors of Ardnarea and Castleconor. The former was the parish of Ardnarea or Kilmoremoy in Sligo. The latter extended north from it so as to include a great part or whole of Easky parish. The original grant may have been of all Tireragh, which was called by the Irish MacFheorais's country. It is afterwards found broken up. There were many transactions regarding lands in those days, and we know that Cuilcnama was surrendered to the Earl of Ulster, and there are indications that some de Berminghams had an interest therein superior to that of Adam Cusack.

Within the next fifty years Ardnarea belonged to Peter, son of

Meiler Bermingham, and Castleconor to his cousin Peter, son of James. But under this Peter an Andrew Bermingham seems to have held the manor, whose daughter and heiress, being married to Stephen Le Poer, conveyed her rights to Eustace Le Poer, a great baron of Munster, who had a large estate in the south of Galway. His family did not settle. Under him a Martin Taaf held a great part of the manor. In a settlement of claims regarding Andrew's inheritance, Castleconor was let to Eustace Le Poer at a nominal rent.

No more is known regarding their devolution until they appear in the possession of the Bourkes, who lost Castleconor and retained Ardnarea, which was bounded on the north by the Bunree river when the county bounds were laid down.

If we suppose that Sir Edmond Albanagh or his father had acquired the Bermingham or Le Poer rights, and that O'Dowda had acquired the Taaf or Le Poer rights when the Taafs retired, we can understand that there were grounds for conflicting claims between MacWilliams and O'Dowdas which led to wars, and that Cathal Duff's payment of five marks yearly to MacWilliam, as recorded in the *Hist. et Gen.*, may have been a recognition of ancient right, and not submission to arbitrary oppression.

The thirteenth and fourteenth century records show a good many names of colonists in Tirawley whose position is not ascertained. It is evident that there was a large English population then. But all have disappeared save those who have been noted above, who are far more families of the early colonists than have survived in other baronies.

The Period of the MacWilliamship.

The death of William Saxonagh at Iniscoe in 1368, and his grandson's attack on Bishop Barrett in 1396, and the existence of a Redmond Bourke who described himself as of Iniscoe in 1452, afford ground for supposing that Sir Edmond Albanagh, having acquired the de Barry or de Cogan rights over Crossmolina together with Castlebar, settled his son and his family there, and that the long quarrel between the Bourkes and the Barretts may date from that affray, to end only with the agreement regarding Belleek in 1584. We have no glimpse of the cause of quarrel. But if Sir William Liath or his sons bought rights or took tenures from the absentee lords and made them effective, we have the conditions needed for a crop of quarrels which must be settled by sword and spear in absence of the courts of the earl and the king.

When those courts disappeared, and most of the smaller colonists and farmers fled from disorder and oppression, the head of the Barretts was the greatest lord in Tirawley, and might count on

general support from the other resident lords, whose independence was equally threatened by MacWilliam's claims.

A picturesque tradition, handed down to us as it was told in D. MacFirbis's time, tells precisely how the Bourkes came to spread all over Tirawley.

The Lynotts murdered the Barretts' steward who came to collect their rents, and threw his body into a well near Carn Castle, afterwards called Tubberscorney from his nickname. The Barretts captured the Lynotts and blinded them, testing the thoroughness of the blinding by making them cross the stepping-stones, called from them Clochan na ndall, near the castle. Any one who crossed without stumbling was blinded again.

To strengthen themselves against the Barretts, the Lynotts got Teaboid Mael Bourke as a foster-son, said to have been a son of Sir Edmond Albanagh. This foster-son was killed by the Barretts at the stream at Cornasack on the road to Ballycastle.

As an eric the Barretts gave up to the Bourkes eighteen quarters of land. Teaboid's foster-father took as his share of the eric the assignment of the quarters, and chose them throughout Tirawley, that the Bourkes might plague the Barretts everywhere.

This last item seems to be the Belleek agreement, whereby about eighteen quarters were given up. The other facts are likely to be separately true—the murder of the steward and the punishment of the Lynotts; the alliance of Lynotts with Bourkes; the killing of Teaboid by Barretts—all brought together to account for the mixture of clans, contrary to the usual practice of each clan having a separate defined territory.

MacDonnells were settled at Rathlacken, Ballycastle, Ballinglen, Ballykinlettragh, and Cloonenass. Most of them were of a family called the clan of Aedh Buidhe.

The Bourkes of Tirawley, so far as they have been traced, were all of the Sliocht Ricaird, descendants of John, son of Ricard O'Cuairsci, except that the Bourkes of Turlough had the castle of Addergoole and some lands there and about Levally and Bogadoon, and the descendants of David Ban had a small estate.

MacWilliam's rent charge of £40 on 160 quarters in the composition is so close to the sum allowed on 164½ quarters scattered through Tirawley, that they must be the same assessment; and they are both so close to the Earl of Ulster's rents of 1333, that there can be little doubt that they are the survival of the Earl's rents but slightly modified.

As in Carra, so here the cowrines seem to have been of the nature of survey divisions, not, as far as we know, representing estates or minor chiefries.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE BARONY OF ERRIS.

Erris, Iorrus Iarthar, or Western District, was the inheritance of the Cinel Fedhlimidh branch of the Hy Fiachrach. Their chieftain was O'Caithniadh, whose death is recorded in the Annals under the years 1180, 1206, and 1274. He had three sub-chiefs — O'Callaghan, O'Muimhneachain (now called Minahan), and MacCoinin (which is anglicised in various ways). Dumha Caechain was the fort of the king of the Hy Fiachrach in this country.

In the middle of the thirteenth century, the Clan Murtough Mweenagh were in this country up to their expulsion in 1274. The country as a whole is next found to be held under the de Burgo lord by Jordan de Exeter.

From the Plea Rolls we learn that John Butler, who died leaving a son Henry who was under age in 1306, held the manor of Ballycroy from Jordan de Exeter by knight-service, namely, by half a mark of royal service when scutage runs, and by a yearly rent of £1, 16s. 8d.

From the Justiciary Rolls we learn that when Adam Flemyng was killed in the battle of Kilroe fighting against Adam Cusack, his lands of Kildarvila, Kilcommon, Killannan, and Caher were taken into the king's hands by order of the justiciar. From these denominations we may infer that he held a great part of Erris.

The widow of Stephen, son of Stephen de Exeter, claimed dower in his manor of Dookeeghan in 1320.

The history of Erris is a blank until the close of the sixteenth century, when it is mentioned as the barony of Invernore, and is in possession of Barretts and Bourkes. The Barretts appear to have acquired the lordship of the whole, MacWattin being called chief therein. The Bourke intrusion into Tiran and an estate thereabouts appears to have been of recent date, when the family first appears in Erris. Upon what claim they came in does not appear. The Clanwilliam had power to enforce any claim which one of the family might acquire against any Barrett. The Barretts styled them forcible intruders.

The Butler title to Ballycroy came to the hands of the Earl of Ormond by some means, and was made effective with the re-

storation of English law. MacToimin and Barretts were tenants there.

At the time of the composition, Edmond Barrett of the castle of Dowlagh was head of the Erris family. His sons Edmond and Richard were brought up in England, and were attached to the household of Lord Essex in 1594. Edmond did good service in the wars as captain of a company, and received grants of abbey lands and of forfeited estates, and a pension in respect of his wounds and services.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE BARONY OF BURRISHOOLE.

THE barony owes its form to the tenures of the sixteenth century, which owed their form to those of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as settled by the de Burgo lords of Connaught, which again depended largely on the existing thirteenth-century Gaelic territorial divisions in accordance with tribal occupation. Up to that time it is only part of the kingdom of Umall. The Clan Murtough Mweenagh settled upon the O'Malleys in the thirteenth century. The kingdom of Umall became the de Burgo cantred of Owyll, and was split into several fees when we get details for the first time in 1333.

We first find Henry Butler in possession, who has a castle at Tyrenmore, and has established there a small town called by the Irish Burgheis Cinn Trachta, now known as Burrishoole. The estate was a little more than the parish of Burrishoole, which was called Leath Fherghuis, Fergus's half, whence we may infer that O'Fergus, head of one of the three great divisions of Clann Maille, held it as a chiefry. The Norman grants of large fees followed existing known divisions.

Clan Murtough remained in Umall under the Butlers until their rising in 1272 led to their expulsion.

John Butler held Owyll Butler in 1333. The Butlers do not appear again until the close of the sixteenth century, when Lord Ormond's title is acknowledged to this estate and to that of Ballycroy. By unknown means the right of the descendants of Henry Butler passed to the earls, who made their title effective when English law became so again.

There is indication that the earls got no rents from the estate in the interval, that their rights were in abeyance, that the Bourkes and O'Malleys treated the country as their own, perhaps acknowledging a bare ownership. The O'Malleys were in Achill. The Bourkes of Sliocht Ulick had the rest of the estate under MacWilliam in respect of his chieftainship.

The barony was made up of this estate and of those of the Bourkes of Sliocht Ulick, the MacPhilpins, MacTibbot, MacMeyler, MacDaibheog Boy, MacWalter Boy, some minor estates, and the Archbishop's Aghagower estate. These clans are given in the genealogical

tables except Sliocht Walter Boy of unknown origin. Thus the eastern boundary is not the same as that of Umall, but includes parts of the parish of Islandeady.

Those of Clan Philpin and MacTibbot seem to be the freeholds of the fourteenth century.

The Sliocht Ulick Bourkes had castles at Newport, then called Ballyveghan, and Rockfleet and Burrishoole.

The MacPhilpins had the castles of Aille and Aghle and Doon in this barony, and those of Bellabourke and the New Castle near Castlebar in Carra.

MacTibbot had the castle of Moyour, now called Castleaffy.

This estate may be taken to represent that which William of Umall held in 1333.

The MacMeylers seem to have been tenants of other freeholders, and were very few. Some are described as of Kilmaclasser.

Sliocht MicDaibheog Buidhe were a branch of the Clan Gibbon. Three of the name of M'Cavoke Boy are described as of Rosscleave, which was within the Butler estate. The Sliocht Walter Buidhe are perhaps of the same clan, but there is nothing to indicate their dwelling-place. Both of these clans are named in the composition as liable to a rent charge for MacWilliam.

The Clan Gibbon had little land of their own in this barony. They had Ballyknock Castle and lands, and were chiefly tenants under the Archbishop and others.

A family of MacDonnells called Clanrannell were settled in the castle of Carrickenedy and at Clogher.

These were the only freeholders of importance.

Rockfleet, in itself a poor little tower, deserves notice as the only castle known to have been the dwelling-place of Grainne ni Mhaille. In early youth she may have lived with her father in any of the O'Malley castles, and after marriage she lived in her husband's castles. After Sir R. Bourke's death she settled in this tower within the country where her son-in-law, Richard Bourke the Devil's Hook's son, was chief.

A lawsuit relating to the manor of Aghagower shows the difficulties arising from coexistence of English and Brehon Law.[1]

John Stanton and his wife Joan sued Archbishop William Bermingham for two parts of that manor as the inheritance of Joan, whereof the Archbishop dispossessed Mathew Magelaghy, brother of Joan, who is his heiress.

The Archbishop replies that he need not answer Joan, because she is an Irishwoman and is not of the five families entitled to use English law.

[1] Cal. Plea Rolls, 25 Ed. I., R. 38, M. 21.

They reply that he must answer, because his predecessor, Archbishop Marianus,[1] enfeoffed Benyach Macgreathey,[2] with assent of his chapter. After death of Benyach, Adam, his son and heir, being a minor, was a ward of the king during vacancy of Tuam, and after Thomas O'Connor was made Archbishop, Thomas took homage of Adam, being of full age. After Adam's death, Mathew was a minor and was in custody of Archbishop Stephen Fulebourne, to whom Mathew did homage, and suit and service at the Court of Archbishop William, of which Mathew Joan is heiress.

They say that the charter of enfeoffment was burnt at Athlethan and can be proved. The Archbishop replies that she cannot prove it, because she is an Irishwoman. A day is given for judgment. The decision is not enrolled.

The provisions of the Treaty of Windsor in 1175, preserving to the Irish the use of their own customs, might have worked fairly well if English manors had been inhabited only by the English, and Irish lands only by the Irish. These pleas show the incompatibility of the two systems. Two questions were raised here—Were the archbishops debarred from pleading that Joan is an Irishwoman by having treated her brother, father, and grandfather as Englishmen? and can an Irishwoman prove a lost document by secondary evidence when it is necessary to establish her right to English law? But the second question may not have been in issue, as the Archbishop's plea may have been intended as a general denial of the right claimed.

If she failed to establish English right, the King's Court would have dismissed the suit for want of jurisdiction, without pronouncing on the claim. She would have been left to her Irish law for redress. It would have given her none. The Archbishop would not have submitted himself to a Brehon's judgment voluntarily, and there was no force behind a Brehon to compel submission. It shows where Irish laws failed.

The plea shows also that Irish archbishops let out see lands to middlemen in large holdings. If the name is MacOirechtaigh, we see that the old comarb lands were let out to the Airchinnechs.

[1] O'Lachtnain, who died in 1249.
[2] Benedict Mageraghty (see A.D. 1247).

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE BARONY OF MURRISK.

THIS barony is the country in which O'Malley was chief when baronies were laid out. With Burrishoole it forms the kingdom of Aicill and Umall, which comes into history at the battle of Moy Lena.

Aicill seems to be a descriptive term applied to mountainous country. Umall means low, and applies in this sense to the country lying east of Clew Bay, as Aicill applies to the parts lying north and south of the bay. The title may be translated as King of Highland and Lowland. Aicill survives in Achill Island and Curraun Achill. The term was applied to the country between Clew Bay and the Killeries in the thirteenth century.

Though at all times an independent kingdom acknowledging supremacy of only the King of Connaught, it was too small to play an independent part, and therefore is rarely mentioned in the Annals.

The earliest chieftains were families of the Clann Umoir. Clann Maille probably descended from one of them, but were tacked on to Brian Orbsen by the genealogists, and were known as Hy Briuin Umaill. The early part of the pedigree of O'Malley is not trustworthy. Seven generations will not fill the space between Brian Orbsen and Flannabhra, who died in 773, the first lord of Umall mentioned in the Annals. A couple more are missing between him and Domnall Ruadh.

Clann Maille were renowned as seamen in early times. The entries in the Annals and the sixteenth-century State Papers show how they maintained their renown.

(F.M.) 1384. A meeting took place between O'Flaherty and O'Malley, but a quarrel arose between them, in which Owen O'Malley, Cormac O'Malley (*i.e.* Cormac Cruinn), and many others besides these were slain by the people of O'Flaherty.

1396. Melaghlin, son of Conor O'Malley, and a son of Theobald of the Kerne, one of the Clanrickard, went with a ship to plunder in Connemara. They killed a grandson of Cathal Boy O'Flaherty, and filled their ship with spoils, but the ship was wrecked between Aran and the mainland, and all, thirty-three in number, or all but one, were drowned.

1413. Tuathal O'Malley had been serving in Ulster as a soldier for a year. He was going home with seven ships, when a storm drove them to Scotland about the feast of St. Columcille, when six of the ships were wrecked and the crews drowned, upwards of 240. Some MacSweenys were with him.

1415. O'Malley, Hugh, plundered Dermot O'Malley. Dermot took O'Malley's island. A battle ensued, in which Hugh and his son Conor were killed, and Dermot's son Donnell and a son of Thomas O'Malley. The sovereignty now passed from Hugh's descendants, and Dermot became king.

1427. Hugh O'Malley, son of Dermot, heir to the lordship, went with a fleet to Tirconnell, and was slain in retiring to his ships.

(D.F.) 1460. Donnell, son of Dermot O'Malley, and William and John O'Malley joined O'Brien's sons in an attack by sea on Corcovaskin against MacMahon. They were driven back to their ships, and the three O'Malleys were slain before they reached them, and many of their men were killed.

(A.U.) 1513. Eoghan O'Maille went to Killybegs with three ships when the nobles of the country were absent on a rising out. They burnt the town and took many prisoners. A storm prevented them from embarking, and they had to wait near their ships. A young MacSweeny boy and some O'Gallaghers collected some idlers and farm hands and rushed on them. They slew Eoghan and five or six score of his men, rescued the prisoners, and took two ships.

(L.C.) 1524. Cormac O'Malley's son Dermot was killed while helping O'Conor Kerry in a raid into Duhallow.

1560. Tuathal O'Malley joined an O'Brien of Aran in an expedition against Desmond. On their return the ship was wrecked at Invermore. Only O'Brien and three men escaped.

1568. John na Seoltadh, son of Donnell O'Malley, went with a long ship to pay a visit to MacMaurice of Kerry at Lixnaw. MacSweeny, a constable of Gallowglasses, was also there on a visit, with only fifty of his men, after his engagement with MacMaurice had ended. James FitzGerald, who had charge of Lord Desmond's estate, came against Lixnaw in great force. The visitors stood by MacMaurice, and advised to attack the enemy. He did so, and defeated them with great loss.

1583. Some O'Malleys went to Ulster and killed Donogh O'Boyle on Iniscaoil in Gweebarra Bay.

1594. In July some O'Malleys of the Out Isles plundered the shore of MacSweeny Banagh's country.

We must regret that the Irish writers have not recorded the exploits which earned for Grainne ni Mhaille so great a name among her Irish and English contemporaries.

The following collection of obits shows that the O'Malleys fought a good deal with each other:—

(F.M.) 1094. Gilla na nInghen Ua Cobhthaigh, King of Umhall, Airchinnech of Aghagower, was killed by the men of Carra. 1176. Donnell O'Malley, Lord of Umhall, died. 1220. Dubhdara, son of Muredhach O'Malley, was killed by Cathal Crovderg. 1235. Donnell and Murtough, sons of Muredhach O'Malley, were killed by O'Conors. (L.C.) 1337. Donnell Ruadh and his son Cormac were killed by Merricks. 1361. Tuathal died. 1362. Owen and his son Dermot died. 1401. Donnell, the king, died. 1408. Cormac O'Malley was killed by his brother. (A.U.) 1416. Tuathal was killed by the sons of his brother Dubhgall. (L.C.) 1429. Melaghlin, heir to the lordship, was slain by the sons of O'Malley. (D.F.) 1460. Brian O'Malley was slain by his brother Hugh, son of Teige, in a dispute. (L.C.) 1467. O'Malley, *i.e.* Tadhg, son of Dermot, died.

But one fight with Bourkes is recorded. In 1378 the O'Malleys killed Walter, son of William.

The principal dwelling of the kings was at or near Belclare from very early times. The castle of Belclare, near the modern house, may be taken to have been the successor of the fort called Cruachan of Aigill, if it was not on the site of the Dun. Cruachan had the meaning of a king's fort, and we have evidence that this Cruachan was in that neighbourhood in the record of St. Patrick's visit to Cruachan of Aigill, which was under the Hill of Aigill, now called Croaghpatrick. The old church of Cloonpatrick represents the Patrician foundation.

O'Malley was the only Gaelic chieftain of Mayo who retained his rank until the extinction of the title. He appears as a tenant of the Earl of Ulster in 1333. He must have acquired the Lawless and Knappagh estates of that time, which, with some see lands, and perhaps some land not let out for money rent, covered the barony of Murrisk. We can take O'Malley's towns to have been about Belclare and in the east, and the Lawless estate to have been towards the west, because John Sturmyn sued Maurice Lawless and his wife for warranty of the Isles of Inishboffin and Inishark.[1] This also shows, what we would not have supposed likely, that Englishmen were then able to get enough profit out of those isles to make them worth litigation.

O'Malley owed no rent to MacWilliam, only a rising out. He was so hemmed in by the Bourkes as to be necessarily dependent on MacWilliam, and especially on his nearest neighbours, the Sliocht Ulick.

The MacGibbons had no separate clan lands, were freeholders

[1] Cal. Plea Rolls, 9 Edw. I., R. 7.

under O'Malley or tenants under other freeholders, and dwelt chiefly in the east and round by the south to Aillemore. The MacGibbon estate in Knappagh may have dated from the fourteenth century, but all who dwelt within the barony held under O'Malley in the sixteenth century, except the tenants of the ecclesiastical lands.

The O'Malleys alone possessed castles. That of Belclare, and perhaps more, went with the chieftainship. The other castles were at Caher na Mart, one near Louisburgh, now named Grania's Castle on the maps, Clare Island, and Inishboffin. Clare Island castle alone remains. The family occupied Kildavnet Castle in Achill.

The composition describes O'Malley's country as consisting of two divisions of thirty-six quarters each, called Lorge Owle O'Mayle and Ilane ne Moghere. If the former be meant for Lurg Umhaill O'Maille, it means "End of O'Malley's Umhall," and describes the western half of the country and the great islands.

Ilane ne Moghere is the small island in Moher Lake on which are traces of stone building. It must have been a place of note, or it would not have given a name to half the chiefry. We may take it to have been O'Malley's principal crannoge and place of safety for his valuables in troublous times; it may be O'Malley's island which Dermot took in 1415.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE BARONY OF GALLEN.

THIS barony is the lordship of MacJordan de Exeter, which was the western part of O'Gadhra's kingdom called Gailenga, whereof the eastern part was Sliabh Lugha. The barony boundary follows parish boundaries, except where a part of the scattered parish of Kildacommoge is split.

Coolcarney came into O'Gadhra's kingdom before the de Burgo conquest, having been previously under the lordship of O'Caomhain. Its inhabitants were then of the Calry race. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries some families of Clan Donogh O'Dowda settled there, whence arose an objection to the county boundaries as first laid down, the county of Sligo claiming Coolcarney as lying properly within its bounds, which were intended to include all the families which acknowledged O'Dowda as their head. But their landlord was MacJordan, O'Dowda being only a tribe-lord.

No more is known of the early history of this territory than what has been given elsewhere.

Hugh de Lacy was R. de Burgo's grantee of this cantred, which he soon transferred to Jordan de Exeter or his father, but Jordan is the first person who is known to have been in actual occupation. Jordan is first mentioned in a grant of 1239–40, by which Maurice Fitz-Gerald conveyed to him part of the barony of Leyny, which he afterwards surrendered.

In 1250 the king gave him twenty-five marks yearly in reward of services until he should be given waste lands worth £20 a year, which were given about the parish of Killallaghtan in Galway, to be held by the service of one knight.

He was killed in 1258 while Sheriff of Connaught.

To him we must attribute the building of the castle of Ballylahan, the only thirteenth-century castle in Mayo whose plan can be made out. It stands on a spur of high ground overlooking Athlethan, the Broad Ford, having a gate-tower as principal dwelling, and a wall with flanking towers following the crest of the ground, enclosing an irregularly shaped court.

He founded the Dominican Friary at Strade in 1253. According to the Registry of the Dominican house of Athenry, he had pre-

viously put Franciscans there, but turned them out at instance of his wife, Basilia, daughter of Meyler de Bermingham.

He was succeeded in this lordship by his son Meiler, who was killed in 1289, and he by his son Meiler, who was killed in 1317, whose heir was his uncle Jordan.

This Jordan was active in Connaught, was sheriff in 1269 and again in 1279, and was constable of Roscommon Castle in 1280. He is found in possession of the cantred of Erris. At the close of the century he held from the king the barony of Athmethan, in Co. Waterford, at a rent of £20, 13s. 4d. He died about 1319, leaving a widow, Barnaba. His son John was lord of Athlethan in 1335. In 1302 he is named with his wife Ismania, who seems to have been heiress of a Christophre. Their son Jordan Bacach seems to have claimed lands in Cork through Ismania.[1]

This Jordan Bacach does not appear in Connaught history. It may be inferred that he succeeded to his father's Munster estate, and John to the Connaught estate, and that his descendants recorded by MacFirbis were a junior branch.

The relationship of the branches of the de Exeter family extant in the thirteenth century are obscure, but the family was rich and of high rank.

Internal evidence suggests that the Annals called "of Multifarnham" were written at Strade by Brother Stephen de Exeter. They close in 1274, when a monastery was founded at Rathfran, where the author may have gone. They record the death of John de Exeter in 1261; of Eva, Richard's first wife, in 1262; of Mabilia, his second wife, in 1264; his marriage to Ysemain, daughter of David de Prendergast, in 1269; the birth of her son John in 1270; and the succession of Richard to the place of the Justiciary. These Annals ignore Jordan and his line. The Irish Annals ignore Richard's line. The John who died in 1261 was probably Richard's father.

Sir Richard was Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1273; constable of the castles of Roscommon and Randown in 1282–84; and was killed in battle in Thomond in 1287. He acquired a large estate in Roscommon, where he built a castle at Athleague.

He was succeeded by his son, Sir Richard, who became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and was keeper of the castles of Roscommon and Randown in 1302 and 1304. He was Sheriff of Roscommon in 1292 and in 1302. He died in 1327. His son Simon, who had been a justice, became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1335. His son Richard owned the manor of Derver in 1347.

A conveyancing transaction, for which no reason is given, intended probably to clear title, shows the estates of Sir Richard in 1305.

[1] Cal. Justiciary Rolls.

He transfers by several deeds all his lands held of the king to Nicholas de Exeter, a priest. The king confirms the transfer on the 20th May. Nicholas transfers them back to Sir Richard. The king confirms on the 30th June. Like transactions take place in respect of lands not held *in capite*.[1]

He held *in capite* in Meath the manors of Staghcallan, Carrig, Listathell, Bryaneston, Crowenbeg, and Rathslyberaght, messuages and lands, and £21, 9s. 4d. rents in Rathbranna, Donneyvin, Imelaghbegan, and le Newenhagard near Trim; the manors of Derver and Corbally; in Roscommon, the Athleague estate.[2]

From the lords of the fees he held the manors of Bellaghlysconan and Lynne, and houses and lands, and 40s. rents, and the manors of Baronnyston and Phelipyston de Nugent in Louth. The last two manors seem to have been held in right of his wife, Elizabeth. In Roscommon he had lands and houses in Roscommon and in the Irish town of Roscommon, and 5½ villatas of land.

The family must have held a very high position in Meath, whence we may infer that Jordan and Stephen were junior members of that family.

MacFirbis derives Clan Stephen from Jordan Og, but there was another earlier and more important line of Stephens connected with Mayo.

Stephen, son of Stephen, and Johanna, widow of Stephen, filed suits against R. Fleming at Dublin in 1280. In 1290 Sir Stephen acted in Meath inquisitions, and is mentioned in 1302 with his son S.[3]

Stephen was killed at Athlethan in 1316, called lord of the place in the Annals of Ulster, but in the *Hist. et Gen.* chief of his nation, which would apply to Sir Stephen if he was not a grandson of Jordan Mor. It is, indeed, not improbable that Jordan was a younger son of the family of which Sir Stephen was the head. Meiler was killed in 1317. In 1318 Matilda, widow of Stephen, son of Stephen, sued for dower in the manors of Moyrathir, Dawathlethren, Dowathmyl . . . , and in the manor of Duffathkeeghan in Urrus.[4] Only the last is identified as Dunkeeghan in Erris. At the same time, the Pipe Rolls mention the estate of the late Stephen, son of Stephen, in Athmethan, and state that Meiler, son of Meiler, had the wardship of the lands in Connaught which Stephen held *in capite* during nonage of the heir, whose name is not given, and that Meiler having died, his uncle Jordan was his heir. I find nothing to show what lands Stephen held *in capite* in Connaught. They must have been in the king's cantreds.

Sir Stephen, therefore, was a man of high position, in close rela-

[1] P.R., 33 Ed. I.
[2] *R.S.A.I.*, 1903, p. 240.
[3] P.R., 8 Ed. I., and D.I.
[4] P.R., 13 Ed. II.

tions with the race of Jordan by occupation of lands in Mayo and Waterford. He and Jordan Og were heads of two independent branches, and he was recognised by the Irish as the head of a family. It is therefore probable that his father is the Stephen from whom MacStephen sprang, and that he had a position analogous to that of MacSeonin, holding an estate by a title independent of that of Jordan de Exeter. The position of the three castles of Clan Stephen in a part of a parish divided arbitrarily from the barony of Carra raises a suspicion that the MacStephen estate was originally in Carra, and that MacStephen transferred his allegiance to his kinsman of Gallen in the fourteenth century.

This case of Sir Stephen shows, what appears clearly in the Plea Rolls, that in King Edward I.'s time law was so well established in these parts that a Meath family could profitably hold remote manors in Erris and Waterford.

To his father we may with most probability assign the foundation of Rathfran Abbey, though there is no record of his connection with it, and it may have been founded by Jordan Og. A Thomas de Exeter is found at Rathfran in 1577 (13 D.K. 3081). The family had an estate there in the seventeenth century. It alone retained the name of de Exeter in the sixteenth century, the other branches using Irish surnames, as MacJordan and MacStephen. We must hold MacFirbis's descent of this family from Jordan Og to be doubtful.

The MacJordans were not always on good terms with the MacWilliams. The hostility resulted in a settlement made by Sir N. Malbie, whereby MacWilliam's chieftain rights were commuted for money rent, reducing occasions of quarrel. Though this settlement is not recorded in the State Papers, it has support from Sir N.'s dealings with MacJordan in his early compositions.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century MacJordan sold to Theobald Dillon his heritable rights.

The following entries appear in the Annals after 1320:—

(L.C.) 1336. Meyler MacJordan de Exeter died. 1355. Stephen was killed. (F.M.) MacJordan, lord of Athlethan, and John were killed. Here we must refer to the calendar of the Patent Rolls, 4 Rich. II., wherein it appears that the Bishop of Clonmacnoise as Sheriff of Connaught reported that John, son of John, is heir of Meiler de Exeter deceased, and is under age. This must be the Meiler who was killed in 1380; it is most unlikely that any other family is referred to. If so, the genealogy requires reconstruction. We should make 5 (1) John to be a son of 4 (2) John, taking him to be the heir of 1381. The Bishop would follow the English law of succession, but at this period the family would disregard English law and the succession would fall to the eldest of the family or the

most active. The following entries show how imperfect the genealogy really is. 1394. MacJordan, John, son of Meiler, lord of Athlethan, was killed by the sons of John. (F.M.) 1416. MacJordan attacked the western O'Haras, intervening in an existing O'Hara quarrel. O'Hara and some Sligo O'Conors met the van of his army, when O'Hara and several of his allies were slain. MacJordan plundered the country, but was attacked in his retreat and killed with O'Rowan and Hugh O'Rowan and MacDuarcan, lord of Culneiridh. 1426. Richard MacJordan of the Wood was killed by MacJordan Duff (MacCostello). (A.U.) 1497. The sons of John Mor MacJordan were slain in treachery in the spring by MacJordan, Thomas, and by his sons. (L.C.) 1520. William MacJordan died. 1584. MacJordan, *i.e.* Thomas Duff, died.

We have two entries relating to the great bardic and literary family of O'Higgin, which had a good estate in Leyny: (A.U.) 1448. O hUiginn, Tadhg Og, a very eminent scholar who kept a great school, died at Kilconla, and was buried at Athlethan, *i.e.* Strade. 1476. Brian, son of Farrell Roe O'Higgin, head of his tribe, an eminent poet, died on Maundy Thursday and was buried at Athlethan.

This barony is remarkable among the Mayo baronies for the number of Gaelic families who had small freeholds at the close of the sixteenth century, as shown in the Inquisitions of 14 James I. These inquisitions, after making allowances for changes arising from sales and forfeitures, represent fairly the general state of the tenures as they were when the composition prepared new conditions. O'Rowans, MacDurcans, O'Higgins, O'Haras, O'Hennegans held a considerable extent, usually in small parcels. MacNicholases held estates near Bohola. Their name suggests that they were of English descent.

As MacJordan sold his estate to Dillon, so other MacJordans sold to him, Sir Theobald Bourke, and other persons before inquisitions were taken in the time of King James to ascertain the names of all the freeholders and the extent of their lands. Hence we cannot tell how the barony was divided among the de Exeters except in a general way.

Our first information is in the Division of Connaught, showing the castles of Corraun, Bellavary, and Danganmore in possession of the MacStephens, as they were in 1617. The Sleight Henry had Keancondroe, Bohola, and Newcastle. The first is, I think, Ballinamore. They form a compact block next east of Clan Stephen. MacJordan na Kelle has Clanvara Castle, not identified, probably in the Swinford district, the castle of the Tuath of Clanmanny.

The composition has eight denominations, whereof two are parcels of ecclesiastical lands, as follows: Clan Stephen, 16 qrs.; Clanmanny, 16 qrs.; Toae Bohola, 16 qrs.; Toae Newcastle, 16 qrs.; Coolcarney

and Toae Bellahaghe, 64 qrs.; Bellalahen, 16 qrs.; Kinaff and Killedan, 6 qrs.; Strade Abbey, 4 qrs. Excluding the ecclesiastical lands and Bellalahen, which seems to have gone with the chieftainship, the barony is divided into five portions, whereof one is equal to the other four together. MacJordan got 10 qrs. free in Coolcarney and Bellahaghe, and Jordan FitzThomas of Bellahaghe got 4 qrs. free. This Jordan, therefore, was the next most important man after the chieftain in the branch of the family to which the chieftainship was attached. The first four tuaths thus appear to be hereditary estates of branches of the family which had lost right to the succession, comprising most of the land south of the Moy. These tuaths did not belong exclusively to the families which we know or suppose to have occupied them. Other freeholders were mixed with de Exeters. We may take it that while these represent hereditary estates in a general way, the great tuath of Coolcarney and Bellahaghe was under the direct management and control of the chieftainship branch—the line of Thomas Duff—and that, but for the change of tenure, estates would have been provided for other branches, and had been to some extent.

In 1617 we find Henry MacJordan owning the castle of Bellahagh, or Old Castle, and Callough, Calbhach, owning that of Toomore or Cloongee, with large estates attached—Henry's mainly in Attymas, and a little near Bellahagh; Callough's mainly in Kilgarvan, and a little in Kilconduff and Meelick. As they held shares in two quarters in Attymas, Callough may be taken as of the family of Thomas MacJordan of Bellahagh.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE BARONY OF COSTELLO.

THIS barony is the lordship of MacCostello, from whom it takes its name, but was first named after Belahaunes. The part north of the parish of Aghamore was in the kingdom of Luighne or Gailenga, and was a subdivision of the latter called Sliabh Lugha. In St. Patrick's time the Ciarraige had some of the eastern part about Castlemore and the Letter, which they had lost by the thirteenth century.

As far back as history goes clearly, the southern part was in possession of the Ciarraige, successors of tribes called Cruithnech in the Attacottic list; but they make no great show in history, being one of the tribes on which Brian Orbsen's ancestors and descendants rested their supremacy in that early period when the legends give little more than names of chief kings.

In the thirteenth century it was held by two divisions called Ciarraige Uachtarach and Ciarraige Iochtarach, the latter better known as Ciarraige of Loch na nAirneadh, now Lough Mannin. O'Ceirin was chief of all, and had his principal dwelling on or near the lake. Mannin House is close to the site of Mannin Castle, which is on a small peninsula. The country about the lake is full of cashels and duns. In the lake were many crannoges. About the lake are many prehistoric graves and remains of cromlechs, evidence that for many ages the lake has been surrounded by the dwellings of families of high position.

In the de Burgo partition Hugh de Lacy had a grant of Sliabh Lugha. We next find Miles MacGoisdelbh established as lord of Sliabh Lugha. As he is said to have been married to a daughter of the Earl of Ulster, he probably got it from Hugh.

Jocelyn de Angulo came to Ireland with his sons Philip and Gilbert, called by the Irish MacGoisdelbh, where Goisdelbh is a corruption of Jocelyn, corrupted back into English as MacCostello. In Hugh de Lacy's enfeoffment of Meath, Jocelyn got the barony of the Navan, and his son Gilbert got Machaire Gaileng, comprising Morgallion and Ratoath. Philip and Gilbert were outlawed for rebellion in 1195. Gilbert's fiefs were forfeited, and were given by Walter de Lacy to his brother Hugh about 1198. In 1206 King John pardoned Philip and Gilbert and William de Angulo. This William had been

associated with Philip and Gilbert in their rebellion, and had held lands under the king and under Walter de Lacy, which were restored to him.[1] As he is the ancestor of the MacGoisdelbhs of Mayo, we must take him to have been a son of Jocelyn.

Philip was allowed to succeed to his father's lands. Gilbert lost all his Meath lands. He had taken service as a soldier under King Cathal Crovderg, who gave him lands in Hy Many. When he was pardoned, King John confirmed to him what he held from King Cathal so far as it lay in that king's part of Connaught, and made him a grant of other lands, probably the rest of Cathal's grant.

Being afterwards in the king's service, he built the castle of Caeluisce with King Cathal's help, probably near Ballyshannon, and was killed there and the castle burnt in the following year, 1213.

His family held the Hy Many estates until the partition by Richard de Burgo, when they seem to have been taken up in an amicable way from his successors, as Muintermailfinnain, a part of them, was held by Earl William on a different tenure from that of the rest of Connaught. The family probably died out in the male line, as no more is heard of this branch.

Miles MacGoisdelbh now appears fighting in Conmaicne in Co. Leitrim for the Lord of the Navan, who had a grant from Walter de Lacy. He built the castle of Athanchip in 1245, but was driven out of the country in 1247. Thus ended the attempt of the Lord of the Navan to hold that country directly.

He appears next as Lord of Sliabh Lugha, holding the great castle of Sliabh Lugha, Castlemore, which replaced Ailech Mor Ciarraige, a few yards away. He died in 1259. His wife had been buried in Boyle Abbey, which we may take to have been the family burying-place until Urlare was built.

In 1324 Matilda, widow of Jordan de Angulo, and her husband, Nicholas de Kerdyff, sue John and Gilbert de Angulo for her dower in the manor of Castlanmor in Connaught; and John sues certain persons for lands in Angevyneston near Ardbraccan, and other places, claiming as son of Jordan, son of Hugo, son of Milo, son of Philip, son of William, who held them of the king *in capite* in the time of King John. Matilda sought dower also in the manors of Kilbixi and Kinclare in West Meath.[2] This suggests that Jordan was not long dead.

John pleaded that his father had not such fee and freehold in Castlemore on the day of his marriage as to enable him to endow Matilda.[3] Gilbert's position in the suit does not appear. He was

[1] D.I., I., Nos. 363, 436, 673.

[2] P.R., 17, 18 Ed. II.

[3] Matilda's claim was admitted except as to Castlemore, regarding which the result does not appear.

probably the owner in possession. It may be inferred that Gilbert or his father had been enfeoffed of this manor. He and the Thomas and David who were killed in 1292 would be Gilbert Mor's three sons.

The Plea Rolls show that about the time of Milo's death a Gilbert was in litigation with a Philip about land in Obresil, and with a William about other land. A Michael also appears, and appears again in a Pipe Roll of 30 Edw. I. as owing half a knight's service for Obresil,[1] which name survives in Brazil townland, in Killossery parish, Nethercross barony, Co. Dublin. But we have no information as to extent of the estates of this family in Meath and Dublin, nor as to the relation of the line of Milo to the other members of that family.

The record of the death of Hugo in 1266 in the Annals of Loch Cé shows that he was known in Connaught.

Philip was Sheriff of Connaught in 1277. The sheriffs were men of high position in those times. It is probable, therefore, that he held the cantred of Kerry Oughter, which we find later on in the possession of his descendants, the MacJordans. Jordan or his successor must have taken over the cantred of Kerry Eighter or Kerry Lochnarney from the FitzGerald lord. Though the MacJordan Duff estate was thus about equal, or even greater than that of MacCostello, none of this clan was ever given the title of MacCostello; they always acknowledged that the title lay in the senior line.

From Philip's son Baldraithe came also the small clan of MacPhilip of the Letter, who had Doo Castle in that region.

Waldrons live about Ballyhaunis who, I am told, are commonly called Walder by their neighbours, and, according to some of them, ought to be called Bhaldraithe. This suggests that Philip originated a third clan called MacBhaldraithe and MacBhaldrin. The latter form is given in the Annals of Loch Cé, 1336, and by O'Clery.

My genealogy is taken from that of D. MacFirbis from Miles Bregach downwards. From Edmond an Machaire downwards it seems correct. The thirteenth and fourteenth century parts are open to doubt. An ancestor has certainly been dropped between Gilbert Og and Edmond, whom I insert as John, who died in 1366. The descent of the lordship at this time seems to have been strictly in accordance with English law.

Many names entered in the Annals cannot be placed. The Genealogies as a rule omit those whose descendants did not survive to the time of compilation. Thus the second Edmond an Machaire is omitted, and also the Philip whose son was set up as chief in 1487.

Castlemore was always MacCostello's chief castle. Rathnaguppaun,

[1] 38 D.K.

now called Rath Castle, was the chief castle of MacJordan Duff, probably where Philip established himself. When other castles and lands were sold to Theobald Dillon, MacJordan kept it and some land about it. The ruins show it to have been a large building.

In course of time MacCostello and MacJordan founded monasteries for their territories at Urlare and Ballyhaunis. In the seventeenth century tradition told that the latter had been founded on the site of a manor-house of the de Barrys. Thick foundations have been found at the monastery.

Lying on the borders of the Silmurray and the Luighne, the MacCostellos were almost always at war with their neighbours, and sometimes among themselves. They were the first colonists of their high rank who adopted Gaelic names. MacRudhraighe appears as a surname at the close of the sixteenth century. They were probably the descendants of the man of that name who was killed in 1545.

There is no trace of survival of any other English colonists into the sixteenth century.

War of the MacCostellos and MacDermots.

Almost always at war with each other, these tribes in the sixteenth century carried on a more definite warfare than usual, independently of the larger contests of the greater lords. Other periods may have been much the same, but this is more fully described by the annalists.

In 1547 Jordan Boy, son of John, son of Walter MacCostello, went into Moylurg with eighteen followers to seek stolen property. Brian, son of Ruaidhri, son of Tadhg MacDermot, with only six men met him. Brian being badly wounded, his men submitted, but Brian had wounded the Gilladuff, son of Philip (or MacPhilip) severely.

Tadhg became MacDermot in 1549. He invited the learned men of Ireland to visit him at Christmas, when he was so generous and liberal that on St. Stephen's Day he divided among the professors and poets all the plunder which he had taken from MacCostello, being 60 cows, and from Clan Philip, being 1200 (120?) and 10 horses. These must have been acquired in raids in revenge of Brian.

In 1551 Jordan Boy came again, and was defeated by the MacDermots at the Upper Muinchend, losing twenty to forty men.

In 1553, the MacDermots being at war among themselves, Jordan Boy took a prey from Brian MacDermot's people, and, with the help of Eoghan MacDermot's sons, killed Tomaltach MacDermot treacherously on the Lung.

In retaliation, MacDermot's sons made a great depredation on Jordan Boy in 1554.

In 1557 Brian MacDermot plundered MacCostello and burnt

Tulrohan. A large force overtook him, but he carried off his booty after a fight.

In 1560 he plundered Jordan again, and killed Henry O'Gradaigh's sons.

This quarrel seems to have ended when Jordan was killed by David Ban Bourke's sons in Ballyloughdalla in Tirawley. It does not appear why he was there or why he was killed.

The following notes from the Annals show the life led on the borders of Mayo and Roscommon from fourteenth to sixteenth century:—

(L.C.) 1333. Gilbert killed. 1336. Maiduic, son of Balldrin, killed. 1340. Jordan Ruadh killed by Cathal MacDermot Gall. William, son of Gilbert, was slain in a conflict in Brefne by the Tellach Echach. 1346. The sons of Balldrin treacherously slew Maghnus MacDermot Gall in his own house. 1365. An attack was made by Clann Goisdelbh on the Luighne, on which occasion six sons of kings were slain, along with Cormac O'Hara, the Tanist. 1366. John, lord of Sliabh Lugha, died.

(O'Flaherty's Annals.) 1367. Milo, son of Jordan Duff; Johnock, son of John, son of Jordan Duff; William, son of Jordan Ruadh; and David, son of Philip, were killed.

(F.M.) 1384. Miles died. 1417. John plundered Edmond an Machaire, but was shot after he had carried off the prey. 1426. Richard MacJordan na Coille (de Exeter) was taken prisoner by Owen, son of Flaherty, and delivered up to MacJordan Duff, who destroyed him. 1428. John Finn was killed. 1437. MacCostello, *i.e.* Edmond an Machaire, died. 1438. Jordan, son of John, died. 1443. O'Flynn and some of his kindred were slain by the Clan Costello at the house of O'Killeen. 1449. O'Flynn was slain in his own house by the sons of Walter Boy MacCostello.

(D. MacFirbis's Annals.) 1461. Fergal O'Gara, that ought to be King of Coolavin, was slain by MacCostello. 1464. O'Flynn and his brother and five of their men were slain in Clooncrim by the sons of Philip MacCostello.

(F.M.) 1464. Tomaltach Og O'Gara was slain by night in a skirmish on Clooncarha in Kilmovee parish by Maurice MacDermot Gall, who was in alliance with MacCostello. 1467. David was killed by MacFheorais. 1468. Edmond an Machaire was killed by his brother William. 1487. MacCostello, John Duff, died. His own brother William, son of Edmond an Machaire, and Jordan, son of Philip, were both set up as lords. 1493. David, son of Meyler, son of Edmond an Machaire, was slain by O'Haras. 1496. MacCostello was taken prisoner by MacDermot.

(L.C.) 1536. MacCostello, John, son of the Gilladuff, was killed by Piers and by some of the people of Airtech—treacherously, according to the Four Masters. See also above, p. 167. 1545. MacCostello, *i.e.* Walter, son of William MacCostello, went on an expedition to Bunninadden against the sons of the O'Conor Sligo, who had been killed lately by the MacDermots. The O'Conors and some MacSweenys defeated him, killing MacCostello and his son Rudhraighe at Ruscach na Gaithi. 1555. MacCostello, Piers, was killed. 1561. Jordan Boy was killed. 1581. Thomas an tSleibhe, son of Richard, died. 1582. The Gilladuff Og and Egnechan, sons of the Gilladuff, were killed. 1586. The son of MacCostello, William, son of Piers, was hanged by the Sheriff of Roscommon on Dumha na Romhanach. In 1588 Sir R. Bingham wrote that the Sheriff Eyland had hanged by warrant one "Pers" MacCostello, a traitor for whom Sir N. Malbie had offered £200 in vain. It does not appear what Pers had done to be so highly valued. This man may be really William. Sir Richard's Pers may have been a MacPers. 1588. The son of MacCostello, Edmond, died. 1589. The son of MacCostello, *i.e.* William Caech, son of Jordan, son of John Duff, and William, son of Jordan, son of Meiler Ruadh, were slain on Slieve Murry a week before Christmas. 1590. Anthony, son of Walter Caech, son of Thomas Duff MacJordan, was killed.

Sir N. Malbie writes to Walsingham on 10th June 1580:—

MacCostello, pretending to be allied to the Dillons, as he is, "hath called to him out of the English pale this gentleman bearer hereof, Mr. Tibault Dyllon and moving him to join with him in friendship (in the name of his kinsmen) hath with the consent of all the rest of his surname, given him of free gift a great portion of his land with a large ancient castle called Castlemore." Dillon wishes to devote his life and living to the advancement of good government. Therefore I recommend him.[1]

This tradition of common descent of Dillons and de Angulos is found also in O'Clery's "Book of Pedigrees," and may be true, nothing being known of the de Angulo pedigree beyond Jocelyn. Dillon belonged to a family having considerable influence in the Irish government, was a man of ability, and was not hampered by scruples in the use of his abilities. In a few years he acquired so much more that the composition for the barony was made with him alone in 1587.

On the 10th June 1586, John MacCostello, captain and chief of his nation, surrendered the manors and lands of the barony with the intention of their being regranted to him, and renounced the title and name of MacCostello and all Irish customs incident to it; which manors and

[1] *S.P.I.E.*, LXXIII. 51.

lands, as described below, were regranted to him on the 2nd July 1586, to be held by the service of the twentieth part of a knight's fee, and one fair great hawk, and 10s. rent as composition for cess out of every quarter that shall be charged therewith by the commissioners.

The manors and lands of Castlemore, Kilcolman, Benfadda, Ballindoo, Letter MacPhilip, Twoee Balliallon, *alias* Slyeve O'Loee (Sliabh Lugha), Mannyn, Illanmacgillavally, Bealagary, Annagh, Caislean Bellaveel, Tulrohaun, Bekan, Keryeghter, Keryoghter, and Cowgy, Ballindingen, and the three towns of the Errick.

Letter MacPhilip is part of Kilbeagh towards Doo Castle or Ballindoo, and Sliabh Lugha comprises parts of the Bockagh and Mullaghanoe ranges. Bealagary, or Belanagar, is now called Cashlaun na Drancaddha near Ballyhaunis. Keryeghter, Keryoghter, and Cowgy, or Coogue now, are parts of Aghamore and Knock, the present townlands of Coogue lying to the north-west of Lough Mannin. Ballindingen is probably the town of the fort called Dhine, Daingean, in Kilgarriff townland, south of the Coogues.

MacCostello's title being thus secured, he seems to have sold it to Dillon immediately, the transaction being thus noted in the Annals of Loch Cé for 1586: "The Great Castle of MacGoisdelbh, and half the lordship of the country, were given to Tibbot Dillon by MacGoisdelbh, *i.e.* John, son of the Gilladuff, son of Hubert. O'Gadhra gave five towns in his division, and the castle of Daire-mor, to the same man."

Dillon acquired most of the MacJordan rights also, as we find him in the seventeenth century owning all the castles of the country except MacJordan's castle of Rathnaguppaun.

When the composition was made, the survey of 1587 dealt with the country in five divisions, viz.: Castlemore, 52 qrs.; Letter MacPhilip, 48 qrs.; Kerryoughter, 52 qrs.; Tulrohaun, 52 qrs.; Ballyhaunis, 48 qrs. For the assessment of composition rent, it was recommended that four of these quarters be treated as one quarter of 120 acres, owing to the poverty of the country.

Thus the MacCostellos lost their place among the great land-owning families. Dillon's transactions must have been generally fair, though Sir R. Bingham took exception to the ways in which he and others had got large tracts of land. No complaints appear to have been made by those concerned. The MacCostellos did not take advantage of disturbances to turn against him. The change may have benefited them in various ways. They were not all turned out of their castles and lands, but held on English tenures, paying a fixed rent, free from the irregular exactions of chieftains, and from the quarrels and jealousy due to uncertain successions. Under him as landlord they

It passed out of the FitzGerald hands before 1333, when William Prendergast was the principal lord under the Earl of Ulster, who had been given the Earl's court in the cantred.

The MacMorrises went against Sir Edmond Albanagh in the fourteenth century, and succeeded to the last in keeping themselves free from formal dependence on MacWilliam Bourke. Naturally they usually took the side against him. Thus in 1420 they intervened in a quarrel between the two O'Haras on behalf of John O'Hara's sons, who were MacWilliam's enemies, and suffered a defeat in which MacMorris was taken prisoner.

In the sixteenth century we find the parish of Balla within this lordship.

At the close of the century the MacMorrises were spread over the barony, being described as of the Bri, Murneen, Derowel, Ahena, Barreel, Castlemacgarrett, Castlekeel, Ballyhowly, Gortnedin. MacWalter of Garryduff, MacAdam of Clogher MacAdam and Cloonconor, MacSherone and MacUlick of Kinkelly were probably Prendergasts. FitzSimon, called MacEryddery, had a large estate with the castles of Doonmacreena and Castlereagh in the south. Fleming of Carrantawy and Stangford of Ballynastangford seem to be other descendants of early colonists. MacCristicks held land, who may be either Gaelic or English. Mac an Brehon and O'Cullenan were Gaelic landholders.

Like other chieftains, MacMorris settled MacDonnells on his lands, who are described as of Mayo, Kielcolla, Cloonkeen, Tawnagh, Corbally, but they had not much land, and no castle.

In May 1585 Ricard MacMorris of the Brees, chief of his nation, had a grant, after surrender, of the whole barony of Clanmorris, the manor or castle of Brees, the castle and lands of Murneen, the lands of Cranan and Termon, and all the manors, castles, and lands which he has in the barony or territory of Clanmorris and in the territory of Tirenene and Tirrenaghtin, as fully as Walter Og MacMorris, late captain of the nation, held them. To hold for ever by the service o one knight's fee; rent £40 English, and one goshawk. To attend th deputy or governor of the province on all hostings or journeys wi' 4 horsemen and 24 footmen armed, with victuals for 40 days; to supp annually 40 men with tools and victuals for 4 days, to do such wo in the county as shall be appointed; to send to all hostings in the province 16 horses with their drivers, to carry victuals. These rents and customs to be levied indifferently on the followers of MacMorris, and in all places in the barony of Clanmorris where the 40 marks were levied by Sir N. Malbie, Knt., late governor of the province, as parcel of the composition of said Ricard. This grant not to bar the rights of any of the queen's subjects. The premises are discharged

from the composition made by Malbie, and all other burdens, saving the queen's prerogative, and the rents herein reserved.[1]

This grant was modified by the Indenture of Composition.

Having acquired a certain heritable estate, Ricard parted with it to John Moore of Meelick, following the example of MacCostello, which MacJordan also followed. But these transactions did not occur immediately. In these sales they may have been influenced by consideration of the difficulty of securing the succession to their own heirs, who would have found themselves in conflict with those who would have succeeded to the chieftainship estate under the abolished customs. It would have been hard for one of the clan to enforce these new rights against his fellows, whereas cash could be invested elsewhere, and a stranger could enforce his rights unhampered by family feelings.

[1] 15 D.K., 4669.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE BARONY OF ROSS.

In earliest times this barony was in the territory of the Tuath Resent Umoir and of the Partraige, whom the Conmaicne put out of sight. It was within the FitzGerald manor of Lough Mask. The barony was first laid out to comprise the lands of the Joys, the Walshes, and the Partry, in which MacThomas and MacTybod were chiefs. But it was in fact confined to the lands held under MacThomas, and those of Ross and Ballynonagh which were held by Sir Murrough O'Flaherty, who was considered to hold the entire barony under MacWilliam. The parish of Partry or Ballyovey was in Carra when the composition of 1585 was made.

MacThomas of Castlekirke was the head of the Joys, a very large tribe, spread all over the barony, divided into several clans.

The first of the family must have had a grant from Maurice FitzGerald. The Plea Rolls of 3 Edw. II. show that the widow of Thomas Joy sued his son Richard for one-third of two vills in Connaught as dower. This Thomas may be Thomas Roe, son of Davock, son of Johnkin na Gasraighe, son of Seoigh, *i.e.* Joy, son of Sir David, son of the King of Wales, from whom, according to MacFirbis, all the Joys descended. Up to Johnkin the pedigree may be correct, and he be the first settler.

The Joys do not come into view again until the latter quarter of the sixteenth century.

The barony was afterwards transferred to Galway by Sir W. FitzWilliam, because the composition rent was claimed by the collector for Galway, being included in the Indenture of Iar Connaught.

APPENDICES.

I.

THE EARLY LEGENDS OF IRELAND.

1. General Remarks.

The legends and historical statements are here examined without submission to the chronology and genealogies framed by Irish historians to connect Noah with the men of their own time, save as a measure of relative antiquity in their opinion. Their systems were drawn from ancient legends, tales, and poems such as appear in abstract in the Dindsenchas, in addition to those which have survived to this day. These I examine so far as they have been translated and published. It is not likely that the remainder will differ widely from the part already published.

My conclusion is that the Fomorach, Firbolg, and Tuatha De Danann were clans of the Gael who fought with each other about the beginning of the Christian era, much as their descendants did in historical times, and that the traditions do not go much farther back except in a very shadowy way.

In dealing with historical legends I keep two points in mind: that the tribal relations of tribes dwelling near each other are fairly correctly represented by their pedigrees, though the early parts of those pedigrees may be obviously false, and that tribes rose over and sank beneath each other as they rose and sank in historical times. Thus the Gregry, Kerry, Conmaicne of Mayo and Galway, and the Corcamoe are closely related in origin, though the pedigrees connecting them with the Irian kings of Ulster cannot be trusted: they stand to the Eremonians as a body in a much less intimate relationship than they do to each other. So the Sodhans and Corcamoe are grouped as of Irian descent in respect of the Hy Many, but as between themselves the Corcamoe are more closely related to the Conmaicne than to the Sodhans.

As to tribes far distant from each other, the pedigrees deserve little credit. The Calry of Connaught and the Corcalee of Munster, the Kerry of Connaught and the Kerry of Munster, cannot be accepted as close relations in the absence of additional evidence.

Taking the historical period from the beginning of the fifth century to the Anglo-Norman Conquest, I find no great displacement of any tribe by a conqueror. Tribes have been made to acknowledge supremacy, but have not been suddenly cleared off a large tract of country. The process was gradual encroachment on the weaker tribes, who remained within narrower limits or

in an inferior condition, and by degrees died out or were lost in other names. Thus the descendants of Muredach Mulleathan took new clan names and acquired hereditary estates in Moy Ai and overflowed upon their neighbours, the Kerry, the Delbna of Sid Nenta, the Corcamoe, upon part of Conmaicne, and even into Cruffon, the kingdom of O'Mulrony, a king of the Hy Many race. Later Maelruanaid, son of Tadg of the White Horse, by a partition with O'Conor got the great kingdom of Moylurg, which was made up at the

THE ATTACOTTIC TRIBES ACCORDING TO MACFIRBIS.

expense of the Kerry of Artech, of the former Calry landowners of Moylurg, and of the Hy Ailella. And this new tribe had a great offshoot in the Mac-Donoghs. Thus the Hy Fiachrach spread from Carra and Tirawley over Tireragh, obliterating the Calry except in Coolcarney. A similar process of settlement of tribes descended from Torlogh Mor was in operation when Richard de Burgo was put in possession of Connaught. The race of Brian Luignech kept their settlement in Carbury by accepting the FitzGerald supremacy, and eventually became powerful. But for that conquest another hundred years would have shown O'Conor as the chief of a Sil Torley, to

whom the Sil Murray would have occupied the position which the Kerry, Conmaicne, &c., formerly occupied towards them.

Disappearance of a powerful tribe and appearance of another in its place, without legends of great conquests which seem true, lead to suspicion that the new tribe is a transformation, or a clan of the old which has attained supremacy within the tribe. The Hy Many, the Gregry, and the Conmaicne Rein illustrate this.

The case of the Hy Many is very clear, and, like that of the Gregry, is mentioned farther on. The case of the Conmaicne Rein is nearly as clear as that of the Hy Many. The Book of Fenagh is not authority for history, but is very good authority for the legends of the Conmaicne Rein regarding their origin. It tells us that St. Caillin found the Conmaicne of Dunmore quarrelling, and induced them to keep the peace and let him get them more land. He went to Moy Rein, where he converted Aedh Dubh son of Fergna, and procured from him land for the Conmaicne. Aedh Dubh was too black for his own taste, and was by St. Caillin's intercession given the shape of St. Rioc, and became Aedh Find in future.[1] He aspired to the championship of the Glasry, a tribe descended from Niall of Nine Hostages, dwelling in the country of Cairbre, the Barony of Granard. The Attacottic List mentions Glasry as an extinct Milesian tribe and Glasry as an Attacottic tribe.[2] Their own tradition shows that there were no Conmaicne in Moy Rein until the sixth century.

These facts point to adoption by these Conmaicne of a pedigree connecting them with those of Dunmore, probably by identification of one of their ancestors with one of the same name in the Dunmore family pedigree.

The Coir Anmann gives Cu and Lugaid Conmac as alternative names of Conmac, son of Fergus.[3] In the Book of Fenagh, Conmac and Lugaid Conmac are two men separated by several generations. The Irish traditions show that Hy Conmaic, *i.e.* Conmaicne, existed before Fergus's time.

Moreover, Aedh Dubh of the Glasry seems to have been identified with the Aedh Find of Brefne, and the ancient Milesian Glasry to have been treated as Attacots and again as Milesians.

The Attacottic List quoted above is a list of Attacottic tribes taken from the Book of Glendalough with D. MacFirbis's notes thereon, which deserves attention. It seems to be the result of investigation to ascertain what free tribes existed before the Attacottic Revolution, and what Attacottic tribes took their places. The Attacots are said to have distributed themselves over Erin after the extinction of her free men, namely, forty-six tribes who were replaced by forty-seven servile tribes.

I understand that the compiler found that the forty-six tribes came by their relationships into the genealogies of the descendants of Breogan. They became extinct by the operation of the Revolution. Consequently the tribes found in existence in and immediately after the Attacottic period were not recognised as of Milesian descent, because, according to the theory of extinction, the tribes then existing could not be free tribes.

[1] "Book of Fenagh," pp. 83, 119, 179–191.
[2] Introduction to O'Curry's "Lectures on the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish," p. xxvii.
[3] "Irische Texte," 3rd series, p. 274.

I find among the extinct free tribes Benntraighe, Cathraighe, Condraighe Glasraighe, Bibraighe, and servile tribes of the same name. The Cathraighe of the Domnonian race have certainly been transformed into the Milesian Hy Many.

The free Gabhraighe are not represented among the Attacottic tribes, but in Queen Meav's time there was a Domnonian tribe called Gabhraighe of the Suck, which does not appear again in later legends. The free Calraighe are

not represented among the Attacots, but the Calraighe of history appear at an early date, with an evidently factitious pedigree connecting them with Leinster and Munster tribes.

A tract on Cairpre Cinnchait and the Athach Tuatha[1] gives a different distribution of the Attacots and names only thirty-two tribes, under other names in some cases. The Clann Umoir tribes are wholly omitted by that name. The Tuath Rois is placed in Tirawley and Tireragh. The Life of St. Mochua of Balla[2] quotes an old poem which calls the clans of Fiachra by the name Clanns of Ross, who was a grandson of Ailill Molt, or a son of

[1] *Revue Celtique*, xx. p. 335.
[2] Book of Lismore in "Anecdota Oxoniensia."

Erc Culbuide. Those clans in the sixth century had a supremacy over the Hy Fiachrach. Further, it seems to me that what are called in the former tract extinct free tribes are called Attacots in this.

2. The Fomorach, Tuatha De Danann, and Cruithne.

The earliest notices of the Fomorians show them to have been chiefly in the north of Ireland. Partholan defeats them in the north. Nemed defeats them in Ulster and in Connaught, where he kills two of their kings, Gann and Sengann, names which recur as those of kings of the Fir Domnann. The Fomorians get the better of the Nemedians, have their chief fortress on Tory Island, and receive their tributes near the Erne. From Partholan and Nemed descend the Domnonians and the Danonians. Irial Faidh defeats them and kills their king in Teanmagh; and in Teffa defeats and kills Stirn, son of Dubh, son of Fomor. Eochy Mean, Fomorian, king of the northern half of Ireland, kills Sobhairce, King of Ireland. Oengus Olmucada kills Smiorgall, king of the Fomorach, at Ardagh. Sirna kills their king Ceasarn in Breg. Cical, descendant of Uadmoir, a Fomorian, is said to have been in Ireland before Partholan, with whom he fought a battle at Magh Itha in Ulster.[1]

The Tale of the Second Battle of Moytura makes them a northern race and associates them with the Danonians by marriage.[2] The descents given there and those given by Keating differ, but make the connection equally close. Two men were named Bres, son of Elathan, who seem to be sometimes confused. The Tale of the First Battle tells us that Bres, son of Elathan, son of Delbaeth, was killed in the battle, and that Bres, son of Elathan, son of Neid, was elected king of the Danonians after the battle, reigned seven years, and died on Sliabh Gamh, whereupon Nuadat resumed the sovereignty.[3] This Bres seems to be a Fomorian king who established a supremacy after the first battle, lost it, and was killed in the second battle. He is first cousin of Balor.

Emer, wife of Cuchullin, is one of "the daughters of Tethra's nephew, *i.e.* Forgall, the king of the Fomori."[4]

When Cuchullin reaches the Dun of Ruad, King of the Isles, Conall Cernach and Laegaire have arrived just before him to levy tribute, because the Isles of the Foreigners were then under tribute to Ulster. He rescues Ruad's daughter, who had been assigned as tribute to the Fomori, by killing three Fomori who came for her.[5] Conall Cearnach and Laegaire Buadach were there at that time to levy tribute for Ulster. There seems to be no reason why Conall and Laegaire should be there levying tribute and taking no notice of the payment of tribute to the Fomori. It is like an edition of the story when the Fomori were no longer recognised as Ulstermen. In the Courtship of Ferb, Conor Mac Nessa brings a body of Fomorach against Gerg.

A genealogical table constructed from Keating's History and the Tale of the Second Battle shows how the Tribes of De Danu break up into Delbhna, Clann Cein or Cianachta, and Luighne. The Danu from whom the race takes its name is supposed to have been a woman far down in the line. Unless there was an earlier Danu, this clan is improperly named.

[1] Keating, 116, 124, 125, 219, 225; A.Cl. 31, 36; F.M., A.M., 3790.
[2] *Revue Celtique*, xii.
[3] O'Donovan's Translation, O.S.L.M.
[4] "Cuchullin Saga," p. 64.
[5] Ibid., p. 81.

De Domnu and De Danu may be gods, but it is most unlikely that they are, and that in these two instances alone Irish tribes are called after a god and not after an ancestor. The Domnu from whom the Fer Domnann took their name does not appear in legend unless Indech Mac De Domnann was his son. Mac De Domnann is more likely to be a surname.

The name Fomor in the Irian genealogy supplies an origin for Fomorach, as Eogan did for Eoganach in the same country. There may have been many Fomors in the clan.

Stirn, son of Dubh, son of Fomor, can hardly be other than the brother of Sorge McDuff, killed by Irial Faidh at the same place.[1] Sorge looks like an English form of Sithrige. Possibly the authority for the Clonmacnoise entry called him only son of Dubh, and the annalist supplies the name. Taking him for the Fomor of the Irian genealogy, the entries are a good illustration of expansion and dislocation of legends in the formation of history of proper duration.

From the death of Irial Faidh to the death of Argetmar was 701 years according to Keating, 932 years according to the Four Masters. Stirn or Sithrige is thus taken 800 or 1000 years before his proper time.

The Fomorach, being Irian, are the same race as the Cruithne of Ulster and Connaught. The Cruithne helped the Domnonian Crimhthann Sciathbhel, the King of Leinster, to subdue the British tribe called Tuath Fidga. They became powerful and were driven away by Eremon, except six families who were let stay in Breg, to whom are attributed necromancy spells and omens, as to the Tuatha De Danann.[2] This attribution has been ground of attribution to the Tuatha De Danann of a higher civilisation, or of greater skill in arts and higher knowledge than the Firbolgs and Milesians possessed. It may point equally to inferiority. The Badagas of the Nilgiris regard the Kurumbars with great awe because they attribute to the Kurumbars extraordinary powers of necromancy. The Badagas are civilised Canarese people who came from Mysore and occupied a great part of the hills. The Kurumbars are a degraded jungle tribe, remnant, it is supposed, of the very early dominant race.

The expelled Cruithne went to Scotland and founded the Pictish kingdom. The "Irish Nennius" describes the Cruithne who came to Leinster as "the race of Geleoin the son of Ercol.[3] When driven out they were given as wives the widows of the sons of Miled, who had been drowned with Donn.

The wife of Crimhthann Nia Nair was Narthuathchaech, daughter of Lotan, of the Pict-people (do Chruithentuaith, "Silva Gadelica"), Narthuathchaech, out of the Sidhes or of the Pict-folk (a Sidaib no do Chruithentuaith).[4]

The Tuatha De Danann are very closely associated with the Cruithne of Leinster. Eremon drives them out like the Cruithne, and the Eremonians intermarry with them. It is evidently the same legend and the same people.

Among the Fomorian allies of Bres are Goll and Irgoll. Ros Guill and Ross Iorguill adjoin in Donegal.

The Cruithne of Leinster are called Sil nGeleoin and Clanna Geleoin and Fir Geleoin.[5] The Tuath Gaileoin appear in the Attacottic List in Leinster.

[1] A Cl., p. 31.
[2] "Irish Nennius," pp. 123–125.
[3] Ibid., pp. 121, 131.
[4] *R.S.A.I.*, 1893, p. 378.
[5] "Irish Nennius," pp. 120, 130.

They survived to later days, and left their name to Morgallion in Meath. Another branch has left its name to Gallen in Mayo. In each case Luighne accompany Gailenga, and we find Lune beside Morgallion and Leyny beside Gallen. The Luighne of Meath once occupied the greater part of Meath and parts of Westmeath and Co. Dublin.

The Luighne of Tara were subjects of Cairbre Nia Fer.[1] Tigernach mentions that they killed Cahir Mor. Cormac Mac Art is restored by Tadhg, son of Cian, ancestor of the Cianachta; the sons of Uirgriu, of the Luighne of Tara, kill Finn Mac Cumal.[2] This seems to represent the rise of the power of the Cianachta, who are mentioned at close of the sixth century by Tigernach.

According to the Attacottic List, a tribe called Crecraige were in the country of Corann, which then extended east to Moytura, and covered the baronies of Corran, Leyny, Gallen, Coolavin, and part of Costello. In St. Patrick's time they seem to have lost Tirerrill and a small part of Corran, then held by Hy Ailella, a cognate tribe or clan. They appear in his life at the Strand of Ballysadare and at Killaraght near Lough Gara. Their name looks like a derivative of Ciric, son of Cruithne, the mythical ancestor of the Cruithne. South of them the Tuath Cruithnech occupied the county of Roscommon south of Lough Gara to Briole beyond Athleague, and the part of Mayo which lies east of the barony of Carra; they covered the countries of the Ciarraige and of the Delbna of Sid Nenta. In the Dindsenchas of Carnfree the Cruithne of Croghan and the Tuatha Taiden and the Firdomnann accompany Conall of Croghan. According to D. MacFirbis, the Cruithne of Croghan and the Bolgtuath of Badgna are descendants of Genann, that is, are Domnonians. The Irish historians identified the Cruithne of Ulster with the Irians of Ulster. As they allowed the Irians to be of the clan of Miled, the Cruithne are the Gael of Ireland, or have been adopted by the Gael.

The tract on the Corcalaidhe mentions Scal Balbh as either a man of the Olnegmacht or a king of Cruithentuaith and Manann.[3] The wife of Tuathal Techtmar is a daughter of Scal Balbh, king of the Fomorach or of Finland. These alternatives suggest that the writers who worked out this history were not aware that the Fomorach were only a clan of the great Cruithne race. The old names and distinctions were not fully understood. It seems to mark the loss of the knowledge of who the ancient Fomorach were, and the beginning of identification with northern sea-pirates, based on a derivation of Fomorach from the word Muir.

Scal Balbh seems to have been a sort of title. If not, it is difficult to understand how the Book of Lecan makes Lugh a son of Cian or of Scal Balbh.

3. The Fir Domnann and the Fir Bolg.

The term Firbolg covers three divisions, Firdomnann, Firgaileoin, and Firbolg. The former two are distinct tribes of great importance. Though the last has given its name to the whole body, it appears only as the Bolgtuath

[1] "Battle of Rosnaree," Todd Lecture Series, vol. iv.
[2] *Revue Celtique*, vol. xvii. pp. 7, 16, 21.
[3] *Celtic Society's Miscell.*, p. 25.

of Badgna, and even there the meaning seems to be general, as it is said to descend from Domnonian chieftains. The Annals mention a Mofemis or Mofebis of the Firbolgs, and his sons Lugh Roth and Mogh Ruith. The names of Mofemis and his son are in the genealogy of the race of Eber.

The Firgaileoin appear as Cruithne of Breg, and as such are of the same race as the Tuatha De Danann, and in the first battle of Moytura as allies of Eochy Mac Erc, King of Connaught and of Ireland, under Slainge's sons, and in later legend, in the battle of Rosnaree as the subjects of the King of Leinster: and still later as the Firbolg inhabitants of the territory in Connaught called Gailenga and Luighne from its later traditional conquerors. The tradition of the foundation of the Fair of Carman by a Danonian Bres further connects Leinster with Danonians and Firgaileoin.

It is important to note that at the period supposed to be that of the arrival of the Firdomnann they have already under them a considerable body of the tribe from which the Tuatha De Danann sprang. The conquest of the Tuath Fidga of Leinster may explain the presence of the Firbolg among the Domnonian forces, if the Firbolg are of the British race called Belgæ, as some have thought. Crimhthan Sciathbhel thus had under him the Belgic Tuath Fidga in the south and the Cruithnech Firgaileoin in the north of Leinster. This tribe appears in the Attacottic List as a division of the Gaileoin north of Gabar—that is, of Leinster excluding Ossory, called south of Gabar. I understand it to mean that the three tribes therein mentioned were tributary to that branch of the Gaileoin. If the true meaning is that the Tuath Fidga and the others were sections of the Firgaileoin, it follows that the Firgaileoin are to be recognised as British. But this is certainly not the view of tribal relations taken by the ancient Irish historians.

The Firbolg, in the restricted application of the term to a section of the adherents of the Domnonian kings, may have been a Belgic race from Britain, or a body of refugees forming a body of soldiers like the Clan Donnell Galloglass in later times, from which the name has been transferred to the whole body. Except by such transfer the Gaelic clans could not have come to be called Belgic. Bolg may not be connected with Belgæ, or the same name may have been used by a Gaelic clan. It certainly covers the whole body of Domnonians and Gailians in the opinion of the Irish historians.

The tradition of the Firbolg invasion and the first battle of Moytura shows the Domnonian kings in supremacy at Tara, whence they are driven by the Danonians. Yet they had previously got the better of the Firgaileoin, of whom the Danonians were a branch, as appears from the presence of the Firgaileoin in King Eochy's army. That the kings of the Firbolg were Domnonians is certain from the fact that the Domnonian kings of Connaught were recognised as descendants of the sons of Dela.

Though the use of broad heavy spears is the characteristic of the Firbolg army, and the use of thin pointed spears is that of the Danonian army, another legend shows that such spears were introduced in the time of Rinnal, Eochy Mac Erc's grandfather.[1] Tacitus remarks that the army of Galgacus used slashing swords without points. That army must have been largely composed of Domnonians of the north and other Cruithne of Scotland. The remark suggests that the Britons of England used pointed swords which were

[1] "Irische Texte," 3rd Series, Coir Anmann, p. 401.

not used by the northern tribes. Likewise, at the battle of Moytura, about a hundred years earlier according to my computation, pointed spears were not yet in general use in Ireland.

Ptolemy places Dumnonii in Cornwall and Devonshire next to Belgæ, and in Scotland north and south of the Forth. As the Irish Domnall was pronounced Duvnall in the twelfth century, Devon shows a similar change from the original of Domnonii, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Firdomnann are the same race as the Dumnonii of Great Britain. If the Firdomnann came from Britain with a body of Belgæ after the establishment of Belgic tribes in South Britain, the term Firbolg might cover them in the view of the Irish.

In the second battle of Moytura, Indech MacDomnann or Mac De Domnann is one of the Fomorian kings who oppressed the Danonians. His name looks Domnonian, but an Ulster king's father may have been named Domnu, and some Domnonians were on the Fomorian side. The Clan Umoir was said to be among them after the first battle. The names Morc, son of Dela, and Gann and Sengann, kings of the Fomorians, show that there was no wide difference between Fomorians and Domnonians, if indeed those were truly Fomorians and not Domnonians wrongly classed like Cical. The statement that Cical landed in Irrusdomnann tends to identify him with the Clan Umoir, who occupied the whole western coast of that kingdom. O'Flaherty includes Clan Umoir among the Domnonians. But the early annalists, or early compilers of systematic history, finding Cical mentioned in legends which according to their chronology related to events earlier than the arrival of the Firbolg, classified him and his people as Fomorach. As the Clan Umoir do not appear again in the legends until the time of Queen Meav, they were treated as absent among the Fomorach.

The tradition that Queen Meav's Clan Umoir were evicted tenants of her brother-in-law has perhaps some foundation. The great extent of country held by the clan must have given it a high position. Some therefore are likely to have acquired land in Breg when the Domnonians were in supremacy there. Cairbre Nia Fer is said to have surrendered three cantreds to Conor Mac Nessa when he married Conor's daughter. This is like a peace after a war in which Conor won; or as if, after the murder of Conaire I., Cairbre and Conor divided Breg. They would naturally turn out Clan Umoir lords. Tigernach seems to recognise some such result in his entry after the accession of Conor Mac Nessa. "Thereafter Ireland was parted into five, after the slaughter of Conaire the Great, son of Etarscel, in the Hostel of Da Derga, among Conchobar, son of Nessa, and Cairbre Nia Fer, and Tigernach Tetbannach, and Dedad, son of Sen, and Ailill, son of Mága."

The clan is attacked by a coalition of Conall Cernach and Cuchullin, Ulstermen, Curoi Mac Daire, a Munsterman, or, according to Professor Rhys, a Leinsterman,[1] cet Mac Magach, one of the Gamanry, when they are in Connaught after their quarrel with Cairbre. Can this be the turning of the race of Fiac out of Tara, those who left their name to the "Ferta Fer Féic," the legend of settlement on land given by Meav being the historians' way of accounting for their appearance afterwards in possession of great territories? It is not unlikely that Curoi MacDaire is confused with Curaidh, father of

[1] *R.S.A.I.*, 1891, p. 655.

Tinni, King of Connaught. Dare and Degad are also Olnegmacht names. Ferdiad was a grandson of Dare of the Clan Dega.

The forms Mac De Domnann used indifferently with Mac Domnann, and Tuath Domnann used as equivalent to Fir Domnann in the Attacottic List, show that the Fir Domnann might be called Tuatha De Domnann.

Though meaning literally "Tribes of Goddess Danu," I think that the term Tuatha De Danann meant only "Tribes of De Danu." De occurs as Deo in names of Pictish kings, Deo Ardivois, Deo Ord, Deo Cillimon.[1] It seems to be used much as the Sanskrit Deva, a god, is used in combination with Hindu names as a title. Such a use is expressly stated in the Tain Bo Cuailgne.[2] "'The full blessing of both dée and andée be upon thee!' he said. Now 'the people of power' at that time they rated as dée, 'gods,' and 'the people of ploughing' as andée, 'non-gods.'" This is practically the use in Orissa now, among the Urya lords. As far as so small an indication justifies any argument, the use of De with Domnann connects the name in form with the Cruithne of Scotland.

Domnu appears often in Britain in men's names, Dumnoveros, Dumnocoveros, Cogidumnos, Togodumnos. These seem to be Latin equivalents of Domnubaru, Domnucubaru, Cugidomnu, Tugudomnu in Irish spelling. They occur in connection with Belgic tribes, and the word Domnu is not inflected. "Dumnonii" seems to represent such a form as Tuath or Fir Domnonn.

As the Irish writers included the certainly Cruithne race of Ir among the Clanna Breogain, no weight attaches to their refusal of the name of Gael to the Domnonians. More weight is due to the name of Firbolg, but the term covers also the Firgaileoin, who were Cruithne. The legends on the whole do not justify a distinction between the Domnonians and the other great tribes. They seem to have been all Gaelic.

The position of the Domnonians in Leinster, Tara, and Connaught, cutting the tribes of Ulster and Munster in two, overlying the Firgaileoin in Leinster and Breg, and their position in legend detached from the other tribes, mark some considerable difference, which is most likely due to their being the last great body of colonists in Ireland, who came from Britain after the first Gaelic settlers had been long established, and were an intrusive body, associated at least in later times with other foreign bodies who never became powerful, and consequently were absorbed and lost their identity. A body of Gaelic Domnonians leaving Britain under pressure of Belgic invasion would meet the conditions. So would a branch of the first colonists reinforced from Britain. The legends indicate some such expansion. In spreading over Leinster, Breg, and Connaught they subdue Fomorach clans with the help of foreign soldiers. Then the Irian clans get the upper hand at times in Breg and north-central Ireland, perhaps owing to quieter times in Britain. A period of confused warfare follows, in which a large part is played by tribes under the name of Aithechtuatha, who left Britain in consequence of the Roman conquest. Tuathal Techtmar emerges as king of a great kingdom of Meath formed largely of the territory of Danonian clans. His descendants, if he and they are not the Domnonian kings of Connaught, get rid of or adopt those kings and conquer Ulster.

[1] "Irish Nennius," p. 159. [2] "Cuchullin Saga," p. 168.

4. Identification of Tuatha De Danann with Luighne, Delbhna, and Cianacht.

The table of Danonian kings is open to objection only as to length of some reigns, not as to relationship and succession. Three generations, eighty to one hundred years, comprises their period. But for identification of some with gods and all with fairies, they would probably have gained a certain recognition. Mr. Alfred Nutt has cleared the way for recognition of their reality by his exposition of early Celtic religious views in the "Voyage of Bran." He shows that the doctrine of rebirth allowed the Irish to believe at the same time—

(*a*) That certain persons were gods.

(*b*) That they were men.

The belief that certain Danonians were rebirths of gods accounts for growth of myth about the clan. The chief men and gods had two names, as Lugh or the Samildana, Eochaidh Ollathair or the Daghda, Oengus or MacInd Oc, Orbsen or Manannan. When the Danonians were no longer recognised as ancestors of existing families, it was an easy step to make them all gods and fairies.

The Luighne of Connaught are also known as Clann Cein, tribal names applicable to the descendants of Cian, son of Diancecht, and of Lugh. Their alternative name Gailenga associates them with the Firgaileoin, who included the Danonians. Gailenga in a narrower sense was applied to the family of O'Gara, kings of Sliabh Lugha, as Luighne was applied to the O'Hara branch of the Clann Cein. The place-names of their territory are largely attributed to the Danonians, as Magh Corann, Loch Cé, Sliabh Lugha, Magh Luirg of the Daghda, Magh Ai, &c., which, though not all in it, are in the territory the Danonians should have occupied during their supremacy in Connaught.

According to their recent tradition, the Luighne of Meath and Connaught acquired their territories under Cormac Mac Art in the middle of the third century. But they were in Meath as Cairbre Nia Fer's subjects some two hundred years before. According to Tigernach and Cahir Mor's will, they killed Cahir Mor and Finn MacCumal in the second and third centuries. O'Flaherty's account of Cormac Mac Art and his relations with the ancestors of the Luighne and Gailenga are confused. The important point is that Cormac Mac Art was fostered by Lugni Firtri at Keshcorran, and took refuge with him when driven from Tara by Fergus. Lughni was there before Cormac's time.[1]

The Delbhna claimed descent from a Lughaid called Delbh Aodh, son of the Cas from whom came the Dalcais. As Cas's father, Conall Echluath, was King of Munster A.D. 366, the occupation of Meath and Connaught by the Delbhna cannot have begun before the close of the fourth century. An intrusive Munster family could not have established itself so extensively in Meath and in Connaught at so late a period without leaving marks in history. History does not support the tradition. The tale abstracted by O'Curry[2] could not have arisen over a tribe established so close to the historic period. It is evidently invented to tack existing families to one of the great royal

[1] "Ogygia," p. 334.

[2] "Manners and Customs," ii. p. 320.

families. They could not annex themselves to the Eremonian families under whom they lived. These two descents of Luighne and Delbhna from Cian and Delbh Aodh place them in the race of Ailill Olum in the same relative positions as the descendants of Lugh and a Delbaeth in the Danonian race.

Territorially, Tuatha De Danann Luighne and Delbhna are closely connected. Luighne Gailenga Firgaileoin occupy the same country in Meath and in Connaught. As Luighne and Delbhna are side by side in Meath, so in Connaught Luighne lie north and Delbhna south of Magh Ai. Luighne and Cianacht, who claimed descent from the same Cian, son of Tadhg, occupied nearly all the county of Meath except Tara and the country of the Delbhna, and part of the county of Dublin; they had Breg except Tara, that is, from the Liffey to Dromiskin, which, according to the Tripartite Life,[1] was in the country of the Delbhna. Unless Delbhna and Cianacht are tribal names of the same race, it follows that one replaced the other. The Cianacht were there in historical times. According to their own tradition, the Delbhna could not have got there before the Cianacht. I see no reason to doubt the entry. It follows that Cianacht and Delbhna are the same, or that an older race of Delbhna occupied the country, which is not likely.

As the Cianacht are over the Delbhna about Dromiskin, so the Delbhna are over the Luighne in Delbhna Mor and Beg, according to the position of the Luighne in the Attacottic List. Ancient and modern Luighne, Gailenga, Cianacht, Delbhna, and Firgaileoin are inextricably mixed.

The ascertained possessions of the Delbhna show that they were once a very great race. Their position in the kingdom of Meath agrees with the tradition that the Milesians ousted them from supremacy at Tara, and is parallel with that of the Conmaicne and their relatives the Kerry and others in respect of the Hy Briuin of Ai.

5. The Gregraige and the Calraige.

These tribes appeared between the period of Queen Meav and the fifth century. The Gregry of St. Patrick's time seem to occupy what they held according to the Attacottic List, that is, the historical kingdom of the Luighne and Tirerrill as far east as Moytura and Sliabh Da En, excepting Tirerrill and a small part of Corran. Hereafter the Annals mention kings of Gailenga and of Corcofirtri and of Luighne in that country, which at last is known as Luighne and Gailenga, and the Gregry are confined to the small tract called now the barony of Coolavin. As I understand these legends and history, Corcofirtri and Luighne are but sections of the Gaileoin who were under the supremacy of the Gregry at first, but who rose over them. I take the Gregry to have been the dominant clan in St. Patrick's time, because they are mentioned about Lough Gara and at the Strand of Ballysadare, and because the other tribes do not appear until later. In the Book of Rights they pay a tribute equal to that of the Kerry, about half that of the Luighne. This seems to mark a stage in their declension.

They claimed descent from Oengus Fionn, son of Fergus Mac Roig, but

[1] S.T.L., i. p. 77.

the claim does not bear close investigation. They do not appear in the usual lists of his descendants, the Conmaicne and others not acknowledging the claim. I am inclined to think that their Oengus Fionn may be the king of Connaught of the Fircraibe race, who would suit in point of time fairly well, if they were of that race at all, which I doubt.

They and the Calry are so far alike that the Attacottic List acknowledges an extinct free race of Calry. The names of the tribal ancestors Crec and Cal seem Cruithne in character, and the Calry almost surround the Gregry territory, except where the Kerry adjoin. These facts dispose me to look upon Gregry and Calry as of earlier origin than Kerry and Conmaicne, in accordance with the family legend of the Calry descent from Ith.

The Calry must have been a very powerful race at one time, judging from the great extent of territory occupied by them. There were Calry called of Moy hEleog in the parish of Crossmolina. In St. Patrick's time Calry of Coolcarney and of Innse Nisc occupied the eastern bank of the Moy in Tireragh.[1] The Calry of Murrisk had the rest of Tireragh eastwards. Under the names of Calry of Dartry, of Three Plains,[2] and of Lough Gill, they held in St. Patrick's time all North Leitrim, and in Sligo the barony of Carbury except the peninsula of Coolerra. The Calry held out in Moylurg against the Hy Briuin for many generations. Calry were in Corran, and I suspect that when St. Patrick worked near Kesh that country was in possession of Calry under Hy Ailella, as the Calry all received him well except those of Tireragh. Important families of Calry remained till later times at Bri Leith, near Ardagh, in the Co. Longford, with a branch in the barony of Brawney in Westmeath. After making allowance for petty families having attached themselves to a tribe of greater reputation, it is evident that they once were a great ruling family.

6. Queen Medb and the Ailills.

Queen Meave of the legends may be taken to stand to the real Queen Meave as Grace O'Malley of the nineteenth century legends and novels stands to the Grainne ni Maille of the sixteenth century.

Grace has become the chieftainess of the mighty Clan Malley, wielding imperial sway over the western seaboard, and visiting Queen Elizabeth as a sister sovereign. Her history and character are given in an article in the *Journal of the Galway Arch. and Hist. Society*, vol. iv. p. 65.

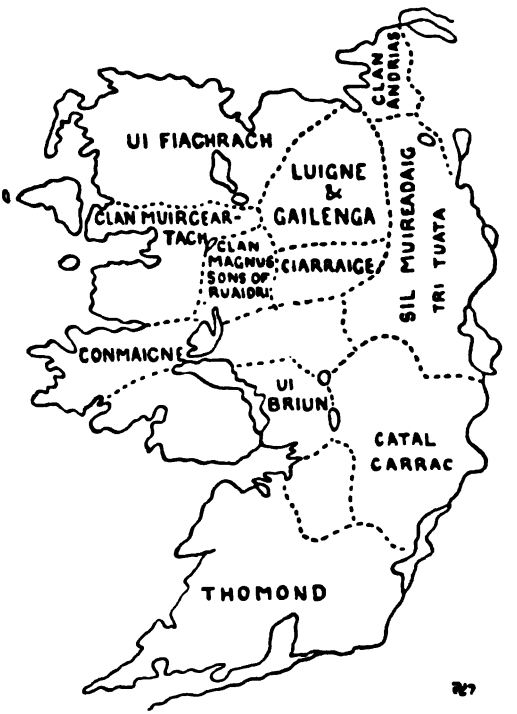
Meave has been given several husbands, of whom the chief was Ailill Mor. It is not quite clear who he was, but he may be identified as a king of the Tuatha Taiden kingdom.

The Ailills were numerous, and have been much mixed. Ailill Mac Mata was brother of Cairbre Nia Fer and Finn File, sons of Rossa Ruadh, King of Leinster. Ailill Mac Magach, King of the Gamanry, was his uncle, Mata being a daughter of that Magu of Murrisk. These two Ailills are distinguished in the Tale of the Cherishing of Conall Cernach and in other tracts.[3] But the Ailill Mac Magach killed by Conall Cernach is not the Ailill Find killed by Fergus Mac Roigh, a full brother of Cet Mac Magach. Magu may have had

[1] S.T.L., p. 251. [2] Ibid., 145, 328.
[3] *Zeitschrift fur Celtische Philologie*, vol. i. p. 106.

more than one son called Ailill. There may have been several women named Magu. Names are much confused in these legends.

According to O'Flaherty and Keating, Meave's first husband was Tinni, son of Conra or Curaidh. Conra or Conry or Curaidh I take to be the same name with the Cu inflected or uninflected. After his death she married Ailill Mor, and after his death lived with Ailill Find the Domnonian, and with Fergus. Tinni was King of the Tuatha Taiden, and became King of Connaught by killing Eochy Allat, King of the Gamanry. Meave's Ailill is the person



recognised as King of Connaught after Tinni, and their son Maine is set up as King of Connaught after Ailill by the Tuatha Taiden and their allies.[1] MacFirbis gives the names Tinni and Ailill, sons of Conra Cais, son of Cuirrech, King of the Firbolgs. MacFirbis is quoted as stating that Ailill Mac Conraidh was of Kilmore Diutreb, which is the Kilmore in the barony of Ballintubber North in the Co. Roscommon,[2] and this Ailill is identified as a brother of Tinni, Meave's husband. The transactions are all intelligible if her husband was King of the Tuatha Taiden, but not if he was a brother of the King of Leinster imported to marry a Connaught king's widow. Such a King of Connaught is out of harmony with all Irish history.

[1] O'Flaherty, "Ogygia," pp. 267, 269, 277.
[2] *R.S.A.I.*, vol. xii. p. 354.

The tract on Cairpre Cindchait[1] and the Athach Tuatha describes Cairpre as "mac Dubtaig mic Thothreachta mic Lughair mic Oilella mic Maghach mic Gaill." This makes Magu to be a man. But it shows that the Attacots were the royal tribes of Connaught, and that the early traditions and the early genealogists did not distinguish much between Milesians and Athachtuatha and mixed one Ailill readily with another. If this is correct, Cairbre Mac Main and Cairbre Cinnchait cannot be the same person. But Cairbres may be confused as well as Ailills.

7. The Olnegmacht.

Keating and O'Flaherty agree in the division of Connaught into three great kingdoms which did not extend east of the Shannon.

I. From Limerick to the Palace of Fidach, or Fidach, under the Fir Craibe or Fir na Craibe.

II. From the Palace of Fidach, or Fidach, eastwards towards Temair an Broga Nia in Leinster (*i.e.* Tara), under a clan of the Tuatha Taiden.

III. From the River of Galway to Duff and Drowes, the kingdom of Irrusdomnann, under the Gamanraige.

The Fir Craibe, Tuatha Taiden, and Gamanraige are the Olnegmacht. Cruachan was the possession of their chief king.

The Fir Craibe are the chief clan of the Clann Umoir, who occupied nearly all their kingdom and a considerable part of Irrusdomnann.

The group of tribes comprised by the term Tuatha Taiden is not definitely stated, but O'Flaherty says that they were of the septs of Sliabh Furri, which is in the parish of Killeroran. From O'Flaherty's list of supporters of Maine I infer that their kingdom was almost exactly that of the Hy Maine in its greatest traditional extent up to Sliabh Badhghna. The Palace of Fidach, being a bound for them and for the Fir Craibe, should be somewhere near the border of the ancient Aidhne.

The Gamanry were the reigning clan of Connaught when this Olnegmacht period opens. They built Rath Eochaidh, afterwards called Cruachan, which I suspect to have become a general name for a royal fort. It seems to have taken its name from Eochaidh Allat, King of the Gamanry of Irrusdomnann and King of Connaught, who was killed by Meave's husband Tinni. It is not necessary to suppose that this was the first occupation of that neighbourhood, only that the great fort was attributed to him. The Releg seems to be much older.

Their kingdom of Irrusdomnann comprised the Clan Umoir tribes north of Galway and all the counties of Mayo and Sligo and North Leitrim, the countries of the Gregry and Calry. It may have included Roscommon nearly up to Cruachan. Ailill Find was living in his fort in Crich Cairbre in the north of the district of the Kerry, when Fergus went to attack him.[2] Fergus reached the Dun immediately after passing over Ath Feni. Ath Fen was in Kerry territory, and I incline to think that it was a ford of the river Lung, and that Ailech Mor of the Kerry, close to Castlemore Costello, is the place meant. It answers the description. The proper country of the Gamanry

[1] *Revue Celtique*, vol. xx. p. 335.
[2] "Irische Texte," 2nd Series, Part II. Tain Bo Flidais.

themselves seems to have been much the same as that of the Hy Fiachrach, whom I take to be their descendants. But this is vague and uncertain.

As the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* contains articles in vols. xxx. and xxxi. giving in detail the reasons for the unusual views expressed in the text regarding the relations of the Conmaicne, Ciarraige, and Corcamoga, the Connachta, the Domnonians, and Eremonians, the connections of royal tribes with the great cemeteries of the Brugh, &c., the circumstances and period of the battles of Moytura, they are not repeated here.

The conclusions are :—

1. The legends of migration are vague, and in their present form inconsistent with the general result of the legends, and cannot be relied on for the period or course of migration.

2. At the beginning of the definite legendary period the Fomorach, Ferdomnann, and Tuatha De Danann were all long established in Ireland. The Ferdomnann were the last comers, if they did not all come together, as is most probable. They were all of the Gaelic tribes.

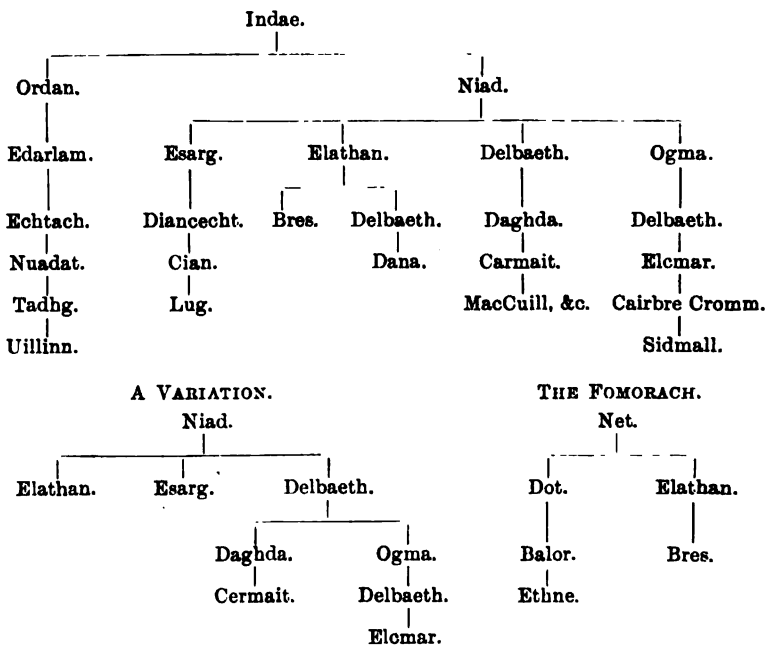
3. Small bodies came from time to time from Britain and the Continent in aid of the Domnonians. They were absorbed in the Gaelic population if not themselves Gael.

4. These tribes did not differ appreciably in manners or culture.

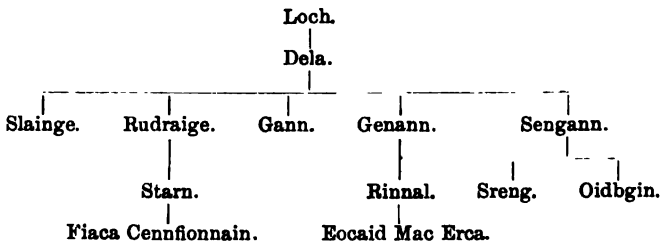
5. They are not clearly connected with the great galleried cairns. The evidence rather excludes a connection within this legendary period.

6. The period begins not long before the Christian era.

TUATHA DE DANANN GENEALOGY ACCORDING TO KEATING.



THE FIRBOLG KINGS.



II.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE EARL OF ULSTER AND SIR JOHN FITZTHOMAS.[1]

16th March 1299.—"Ricard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, and John, son of Thomas, formerly, at Athboy in Meath, before the Chief Justiciar of Ireland, on Wednesday after the Feast of St. Luke last, acknowledged a writing between them (in French):

"It is agreed between the noble barons Monsr. Richard de Burk, Earl of Uluester, and Monsr. Johan le fiz Thomas, whereas Sir John had taken the Earl and held him in prison at Lege for thirteen weeks. For which taking Sir John came to Athboy, in Mythe, to the Earl, on Wednesday after the Feast of St. Luke, A.R. XXVI., and acknowledged his trespass, and put himself at the Earl's will, and rendered to the Earl his castle of Lege, where the Earl was imprisoned, together with all his lands in Connacht, Uluester, and Uryel, and he has granted him the marriage of his eldest son. And the Earl grants protection of life and limb, but that he go into Uluester to remain in his prison at the Earl's will. And the Earl grants also that he will restore the increase and the freehold of the castle of Lege, but he have only simple seisin of the castle without other land. Also that Sir John's lands in Connacht, Uluester, and Uryel be valued by six chosen by the Earl, and six by Sir John; and if these twelve cannot agree, they shall choose one or two on each side to arrange their difference. And when these valuations shall be made, Sir John shall deliver to the Earl six score librates of land as amend for his trespass, to hold to the Earl and his heirs quit of Sir John and his heirs, who are to warrant them. And the Earl shall have all the remainder of Sir John's lands in Connacht, Uluester, and Uryel to him and his heirs; so that the lands in Tyrconel remain in seisin of Sir John, and the Earl shall implead them, and if he recover them, he may hold them quit for all time. And if these lands remain to Sir John by judgment, then Sir John shall render to the Earl these lands, and the Earl shall make exchange in Leynester and Mounester, according to the valuation. And for all other

[1] "Cal. Justiciary Rolls Ireland, 1295–1303," p. 234.

lands of Sir John in Connacht, Uluester, and Uryel beyond the said six score librates of land, and the land of Tyrconel, the Earl without delay shall make to Sir John exchange in Leynester and Mounester in a convenient place, according to the valuation. Sir John to retain the lands in Connacht, Uluester, and Uryel until the valuations be made, and likewise the letters to deliver seisin. The valuation to commence on the morrow of the new year, both parties to help their being made without delay. The Earl also grants that he shall marry one of his marriageable daughters to the son of Sir John, if it please him, before the new year, and if the marriage do not please the Earl, he shall give back his son unmarried at the day named. And Sir John, so soon as the Earl shall have released him from prison, shall do homage to the Earl, and shall bind himself and his heirs to serve the said Earl and his heirs for all time, saving the fealty to the King of England. And it is granted on both sides that as soon as the aforesaid things are accomplished, all the contests and ill will which were between them in the past and the recognizances made before Monsr. Williame Doddingeseles be released and annulled on both sides, but that Sir John de la Mare have the prison one year. In witness, the parties put their seals to this indented writing.

"Afterwards, at complaint of the Earl that John put off procuring the valuers to be chosen by him, the Sheriff of Kildare was commanded to summon him, at his manor of Maynoth, to be here at this day, to show why the things in this writing should not be observed, and why the King, on his default, should not cause the tenements to be valued.

"And the Earl and John now come, and John cannot deny that he is in fault in that the extents are not yet made. And by license he gives to the Earl six score librates of land in his manors of Loghmesk, Dunmouhgherne, Kylcogen, Slygagh, Bende, Creghcarby, and Fermanagh, in amend for his trespass, and he grants them to the Earl for ever. And he and his heirs will warrant the Earl and his heirs. And besides, John gives to the Earl all the rest of his manors, and all his lands in Connacht, Ulster, and county of Louth, in exchange for the tenements which the Earl will give him, according to the purport of the first writing.

"And the Earl will give to John his lands in his manors of Balydunegan, Typeraght, and Tristellaveragh. And if those are not sufficient, the Earl grants that what is deficient be extended and added to John in his manor of Lysrotheragh, and if that be not sufficient, then in the Earl's manor of Grellagh, to the value of said tenements of John, beside the said six score librates in said exchange. Each will warrant to the other the tenements given in exchange. Persons shall be assigned by the King's Court to take the extent by the valuers chosen by the parties. The valuers shall come to Kylcolgen in Connacht in the morrow of the close of Easter to begin the extent, and shall remain until it is finished. If either make default in bringing the valuers, then those assigned by the court shall cause other valuers to be chosen. And when the lands to be exchanged are valued, then those assigned by the King's Court shall deliver seisin of the tenements as well to John as the Earl, who shall each make letters of quit-claim to one another. John to have writs of assistance to distrain his valuers to come. These are named by the court to make the extents on the part of the Earl: Walter de la Haye, escheator of Ireland, and John de Ponte, justice; and on

the part of John : Simon de Ludgate, justice, and Will. de Barry. They are to certify the Chief Justiciar in the octave of Holy Trinity what they have done.

"John acknowledged and granted that all covenants had between the Earl and Theobald le Botellier and his confederates on one part, and John on the other, before Will. de Oddyngeseles, late Chief Justiciar, except the covenants here contained, be of no effect."

III.

ABSTRACT OF PARTS OF INQUISITIONS TAKEN AFTER THE DEATH OF WILLIAM, EARL OF ULSTER.

These Inquisitions are in the Public Record Office in London, catalogued as Chancery Inquisitions Post Mortem, 7 Edw. III., No. 39. Those relating to Connaught have been the subject of an article in the *Journal of the R.S.A.I.*, vols. 32, 33. Only the parts relating to Mayo are given here.

Inquisition taken at Clare before John Morice, the King's Escheator in Ireland, on 8th December, 7th Edward III., on oath of Hugh de Lecto, Adam Laules, Philip, son of Gilbert de Angulo, John de Stanton, Richard, son of Henry de Burgo, Robert Dondewnyll, Simon de Barry, Richard, son of David de Burgo, Hubert, son of Gilbert de Burgo, Moyler, son of Richard,[1] Richard de Burgo, William, son of Richard Barrett, and Philip de Rochford, jurors, who say, &c.

Cantred of Crigfertur.

24s. 6d. from one theodum in Crigf . . . . . which the heir of John Prendregast holds freely.

30s. from nine townlands, which the heir of that John holds freely.

6s. 8d. from two townlands, but now nothing.

6s. 8d. from two townlands, which John Prendregast holds freely.

10s. from two townlands in Aithyn Athmegorych, which William Prendregast holds freely.

66s. 8d. from one theodum in Tyrnaghtyn, which the same William holds freely.

17s. 10d. from Balykenaw,[2] but now nothing.

Courts of Terneyn and Ternaghtyn, 40s., but now nothing, because the lordship of those Courts is granted to William Prendregast by the letter of the Lord William de Burgo, late Earl of Ulster, being under age.

Total of old value of this cantred, parcel of the manor of Loghry, £10, 2s. 4d.

Total of value now, £6, 16s. 4d.

Cantred of Ker.

£13, 6s. 8d. from the cantred of the Ker.

66s. 8d. from half a cantred in Fertyr and Clancowan, which the heir of Peter de Cogan holds freely.

£6, 13s. 4d. from Adlayn for half the cantred of Lowyu, by John de Exeter.

Total value now of these cantreds, parcel of the manor of Loghry, £23, 6s. 8d.

Cantred of Owyl.

Inquisition taken before John Morice, Escheator of Ireland, at Athenry, on the last day of December, in seventh year of King Edward III., by the oath of Bernard de Staunton, Knight, John de Stauntone, Knight, John de Exeter, Robert Gaynard, Maurice Gaynard, Robert Clerk, Thomas Dolfyn, William Walshe, William Seman, Thomas Glyse, William de Atthy, and Richard Dolfyn, jurors, who say, &c., that there is—

£10 from one cantred in Owyl Botiller, by John le Botiller.

£10, 13s. 4d. from four townlands which John de Burgo held.

£10, 13s. 4d. from four townlands which Onayl[3] held.

£16, 13s. 4d. from seven townlands which Robert Laweles holds.

53s. 4d. from one townland in Myntraghyn, which William de Burgo of Owyl holds.

40s. from Knappaugy.

Total of value of this cantred of Owyl, parcel of the manor of Loghry, £52, 13s. 4d.

Cantred of Bak and Glen.

£13, 6s. 8d. from the cantred of Bak and Glen, which the heirs of William Baret hold freely.

13s. 8d. from one townland in Irchloghton, now nothing.

22s. from one townland of Cabragh[4] and Raytrayny.

11s. 8d. from one quarter in Corbeggan.[5]

10s. 4d. from one quarter in Lissarewel.[6]

11s. 8d. from one quarter in Cathyrleilan.

2s. from Inchawyn, by Richard Baret.

12s. from Row, by Thomas, son of Philip Baret.

6d. from a piece of land, by Geoffrey Martyn.

Tenants in Rathberk pay six crannocs of oats for suit of the lord's mill, in ordinary years worth 40s.

Total of old value of these cantreds, parcel of the manor of Loghry, £19, 7s. 2d.

Total of value now, £18, 13s. 10d.[7]

Cantred of Tyraulyf, Orrus, Tyromoy, and Condummor.

£13, 6s. 8d. from the cantred of Tyraunlyf.[8]

26s. 8d. from one townland in Casteldunghy,[9] now nothing.

110s. from one townland in Carne.

Pleas and perquisites of the Court, 4s.

£13, 6s. 8d. from one cantred of Orrus,[10] which John de Exeter holds in fee.

£13, 6s. 8d. from the cantred of Tyrremoy,[11] now nothing.

40s. from three townlands in Duncoghy,[12] now nothing.

£13, 6s. 8d. from the cantred of Condommor,[13] now nothing.

£4, 10s. from three townlands in Leyghuyl,[14] now nothing.

Total of old value of these cantreds, parcel of the manor of Loghry, £66, 17s. 4d.

Total of value now, £32, 7s. 4d.

Cantred of Sylmolron (Castle of Toberbride).

. . . . . .

Sleoflow.[15]—£20 from the cantred of Sleoflow, but now nothing.

66s. 8d. from one theodum in Arkagh,[16] now nothing.

66s. 8d. from one theodum in Kerymoyng̃,[17] and Keryloghnayrñ, but now nothing.

66s. 8d. from Caryoghtragh, but now nothing.

Total of old value of this cantred, parcel of the manor of Loghry, £30, now nothing.

. . . . . .

There is another church at Owyl,[18] taxed at 6 marks, whose advowson and presentation belonged to the Earl and will belong to his heirs.

. . . . . .

There are other lands in Connaught, Ulster, and other parts of Ireland which are among the Irish, and none can go to them to value them or take any profit, because the Irish among whom they lie will not allow any minister of the king or any other Englishman to manage them.

Notes.

The difference between the old value when the Earl was alive and the present value marks the disorder which arose when murder removed his strong hand. [1] The entry should be Moyler, son of Richard de Burgo, making twelve jurors as in other inquisitions. [2] Ballykinave. [3] Mistake for Omayl, O'Malley. [4] Cabragh near Inishcoe. [5] Corraveggaun in Ballynahaglish. [6] Lisfarrell was name of a "town" which included Rathbaun in Ballynahaglish in seventeenth century. [7] The items suggest disappearance of an intermediate tenure. [8] Tirawley here seems to be only the Barrett estate in Ballysakeery, Kilmoremoy, and Killala. [9] Castlenageeha This and next two items seem to represent part of the great Cusack estate. [10] Erris. [11] The Bermingham manor of Ardnarea. [12] Donicoy in Tireragh. [13] Dun Maic Conchobhair, now Castleconor. An indistinct mark of contraction is over the "Con" here and above. [14] Lisladhguill, obsolete, in Dromard parish. This and Duncoghy seem to represent the Cusack manor of Coolcnaw. [15] Sliabh Lugha. [16] Artagh. [17] Kerry of Moynee. [18] Church of Burrisool.

IV.

DIVISIONS OF CONNAUGHT, 1570, 1574.

Division of Connaught into Counties and Baronies, with Notes of Chief Countries and Special Castles.[1]

Mayo—MacWilliam Eighter, chief.

Baronies.

Moyne	MacVadin's lands.
Bellalaghen	MacJordan's lands, *alias* Baron Dexeter.
Bellahaunes	MacCostello.
Crosbohin	MacMorris's lands.
Kilvane, Burresker, Rosse	MacWilliam Euter and other Lower Bourkes.
Morysky	O'Maly's country.
Burriswyle	MacPhilpin and others.
Envermore	The Barretts' lands.

The Principal Castles of Mayo are :—

Ballynonagh	Moroghny do O'Flahertye's.
Shrogher	The Queen's, lately won by me in June.
Burrishwyle	Richard Ineryn Burk's.
Ballelaghan	MacJordan's.
Moyne	Earl of Clanricard's.
Castlenecally	MacTibbot Burke's.

(This was drawn up by Sir E. Fitton.)

The following particulars are taken from the Division of Connaught and Thomond of 1574. The spelling is modernised when there is no doubt of what is meant. The modern names of places, when different, are given in the last column.

The Barony of Crossboyne, which containeth MacMoris's country, 9 miles long and 8 miles broad. MacMoris chief in the same.

Gentlemen.	Castles.	Modern Name.
MacMoris of	Castle Macgarrett.	... ...
Walter Oge MacMoris	Nebry	Brees Castle.
Moyler MacMoris	Kenekely.	... ...
... ...	Barrillagh.	Barreel.
Richard MacMorris	Castle Barnan.	... ...
Edmund MacRorie[2]	Doonmacreena.	... ...
Walter Oge MacRory	Castle Reagh.	... ...

[1] *S.P.I.E.*, vol. xxx., No. 81. 1570.
[2] These are MacErudderys; FitzSimon their English surname.

Gentlemen.	Castles.	Modern Name.
MacMoris of . . .	Ahena.	... ...
... ...	Castlekeel.	... ...
James Reogh MacMoris .	Ballykinava.	... ...
	Castles, 10.	

The Barony of Kilmaine, containing Conmaicne Cuile and Iochtar Tir, 10 *miles long and* 8 *broad. William Burke FitzJohn, Edmund Burke MacThomas Vaghery, and the Clan Jonyns, chief in the same.*

Gentlemen.	Castles.	Modern Name.
Robert O'Kelly, Comarb of	Kilmaine.	... ...
Davy MacJonyn . .	Moyne.	... ...
MacWilliam Burke . .	Kinlough.	... ...
Gilladuff MacJonyn. .	Keylnemadry . .	Houndswood.
Brian boy MacDonnell .	Mocorha.	... ...
William Burke. . .	Ballisnahyny.	... ...
Ulick Burke . . .	Ballycurrin.	... ...
Tybbot MacGibbon . .	Ballymacgibbon.	... ...
William MacGibbon .	Balleogevan . .	Not identified.
Edmund Burke of . .	Cong	... ...
Alexander Kettagh . .	Aghalahard.	... ...
MacWilliam Burke . .	Bally Lough Mask.	... ...
Richard MacMoyler. .	Creevagh . . .	Mucrussaun.
Ricard MacSeane Termon	New Castle . .	At Ballinrobe, where cavalry barracks are.
William MacJonick MacMoyler.	Moynegrevagh . .	Caherduff C. in Cong.
Tybbot MacMoyler . .	The Neale.	... ...
Cosry and Shane MacEgam	Castle Martyn . .	In Ballymartin.
Richard MacMoyler Clere	Two new castles by the same.	... ...
... ...	Castle Kilvean.	Kilkeeran in Kilmaine-beg?
Hugh MacJonyn . .	Cloghnyerla . .	In Frenchbrook T. L.
Walter MacRemon . .	Turin.	... ...
Richard boy MacJonyn .	Killelenayn . .	Killernan.
Walter MacJonyn . .	Ballybackagh.	... ...
Moyler Burke . . .	Carras.	... ...
Redmund MacJonyn .	The Cross.	... ...
William Burke of . .	Shrule.	... ...
Shane MacJonyn . .	Ballycusheen.	... ...
Moyler Burke of . .	Cloghan.	... ...
Edmund boy MacJonyn .	Cregmore.	... ...
MacWilliam Burke . .	Ballinrobe.	... ...
Walter MacTibbot . .	Crigh . . .	In Creevagh T. L., in Kilmolara P.
Seanatermoyne . .	Cloonkerry.	... ...
Walter MacFiegh . .	Liskelly . . .	Liskillen?

Gentlemen.	Castles.	Modern Name.
Davy Burke . . .	Cloonagashel.	... ...
MacJonyn More . .	Kilquire.	... ...
Richard MacJonyn . .	Ellistron.	... ...
MacTybbot . . .	Castlecally. . .	Hag Island Castle in L. Carra.
Seanetermon . . .	Castleloughmask .	Castle Hag in Lough Mask.
Hubert MacJonyn . .	Creg Duff . . .	Near Ballinrobe.
Walter MacJonyn . .	Duffrahyne.	Not identified.

Castles, 41.

The Barony of Ross, containing the Joyes, Walshes, and Partriche's lands, 12 *miles long and* 8 *broad. MacThomas and MacTybod chiefs in the same.*

Gentlemen.	Castles.	Modern Name.
MacThomas . . .	Castlekirke.	... ...
Murrogh ne doo . .	Ballynonagh . .	Close to Petersburgh House.
MacEnvile . . .	Balleneslee . .	Kilkeeran, Ballyovey parish.
Abbe MacEnvile . .	Cloynlaghen . .	Now Partry House, Ballyovey parish.
Richard MacMoyler Joy .	Castlenew . . .	Not identified.

Castles, 5.

The Barony of Murrisk, containing Owleymale and the Islands, viz.: Inishturk and Inishoirke, Clare and Aukilles. O'Malley chief in the same.

Gentlemen.	Castles.	Modern Name.
O'Malley of . . .	Cahernamart . .	Now Westport House.
and of . . .	Belclare.	... ...
Shane O'Malley of . .	Island Quartermore .	Probably the Carrowmore, near Louisburgh.
Melaghlin O'Malley . .	Inishboffin.	... ...
Cormac O'Malley . .	Clare Island.	... ...
Teige Roe O'Malley . .	Achill . . .	Kildavnet Castle.

Castles, 6.

The Barony of Bures, which containeth Owle Clane Philpin, Owle Ewghter and Sliocht MacTibbot's lands, 10 *miles long and* 4 *miles broad. Richard an Iarainn chief in the same.*

Gentlemen.	Castles.	Modern Name.
Richard an Iarainn of .	Burrishoole.	... ...
Tybbot MacPhillipin .	Bruygh . . .	Probably near Carrowcally.
MacPhillipin . . .	Doon.	... ...
Enis MacTiriloghroe .	Akle	MacPhilbin's Castle, Aille.

Gentlemen.	Castles.	Modern Name.
Tirlagh roe . . .	Mayour . . .	Castleaffy.
Richard Burke. . .	Ballyoveaghane. .	Newport.
Phelim Mac Tirlaghroo .	Carrigh . . .	Carrickaneady.
Rory MacDonnell . .	Kaergeney. . .	Caherikeeny in Islandeady.

Castles, 8.

The Barony of Invermore, containing Erris and Dundonnell, 12 *miles long and* 5 *broad. MacVadin chief in the same.*

Gentlemen.	Castles.	Modern Name.
Edmund Barrett . .	Tiraun.	... ...
Doghdalla Barrett . .	Caher . . .	Not identified.
Edmund Barrett . .	Invermore.	... ...
William Burke MacMoyler	Ballycroy.	... ...
MacVadin's Sept . .	Coragher . . .	Near Termoncarragh.

Castles, 5.

The Barony of Moyne, containing Tirawley and the Cusacks' country, 15 *miles long and* 10 *broad. John MacOliverus, alias MacWilliam, and MacVadin called the Baron Barrett, chief in the same.*

Gentlemen.	Castles.	Modern Name.
Richard Barrett . .	Killala.	... ...
... ...	Beallasedery.	Not identified.
Walter Burk . . .	Castlenageeha.	... ...
MacPhadyn . . .	Ballysakeery.	... ...
Walter Burke . . .	Inishcoe.	... ...
Walter MacHubert . .	Rathfran.	... ...
Richard MacOliverus .	Crossmolina.	... ...
Richard Burke. . .	Kerhenayne . .	Castlehill.
Richard FitzOliverus .	Newton . . .	Castlegore.
Anthony Burke . .	Ropallagh . . .	Rappa.

Castles, 11.

The Barony of Burriscarra, containing Clancuan, Carra, and Moynter Creghan. MacWilliam Burke and MacPhillipin chief in the same.

Gentlemen.	Castles.	Modern Name.
Walter MacPhillipin .	Bellaburke.	... ...
... ...	Newcastle, by Castlebarry.	Not identified.
Edmund Burke of . .	Castlebarry.	... ...
Richard Burke. . .	Turlough.	... ...
Walter Burke . . .	Moyhenna.	... ...
Thomas Burke. . .	Lysencromale . .	Liscromwell.
William Keigh Burke .	Ballycarra.	... ...
Walter MacEnvile . .	Manulla.	... ...

Gentlemen.	Castles.	Modern Name.
Richard an Iarainn . .	Gweeshadan.	... ...
Richard MacDavy MacParson.	Donamona.	... ...
Tybot MacWilliam . .	Burnafaunia.	... ...
Mylle MacEnvile . .	Kilvonell . . .	Castleburke.
MacEnvile . . .	Castlecarra.	... ...
Thomas Burke . . .	Luffertaun.	... ...
Donnell MacDonnell .	Clooneen.	... ...
Thomas Keigh Burke .	Beallanelub . .	Newbrook House.
Marcus Mac en Abbe .	Moelle . . .	Hollymount House.
Ricard MacUlick Athera .	Lehinch.	... ...
Walter Mac en Abbe .	Lissatava.	... ...
Ulick MacUlick Athera .	Coolcon.	... ...
Lord Bremingham . .	Ballyheragh.	... ...
William Burke FitzJohn .	Raghrei . . .	Not identified.
Miles MacEnvile . .	Kinturk.	... ...
... ...	Kilvonyde . . .	Not identified.

Castles, 24.

The Barony of Ballylahan, containing Gallenga, 10 *miles long and* 6 *broad. MacJordan, alias Baron Dexeter, chief in the same.*

Gentlemen.	Castles.	Modern Name.
MacJordan . . .	Toomour.	... ...
Jonyn MacThomas . .	Beallahagh . .	Old Castle.
Sleight Henry . . .	Keancondroe . .	Ballinamore ?
MacJordan's son . .	Short Castle . .	Not identified.
Sleight Henry . . .	Bohola.	... ...
Sleight Henry . . .	New Castle.	... ...
Walter FitzStephen . .	Bellavary.	... ...
Edmund FitzStephen's son	Curraun.	... ...
MacJordan ne Kelle .	Clanvara . . .	Not identified.
Walter FitzStephen . .	Denganmore.	... ...

Castles, 12.

The Barony of Ballyhaunis, containing Clancostello, 12 *miles long and* 5 *broad. MacCostello, alias Baron Nangle, chief in the same.*

Gentlemen.	Castles.	Modern Name.
MacCostello of . . .	Ballyhaunis . .	Cashlaun na Drancaddha.
... ...	Bellagharee.	... ...
MacCostello of . . .	Castlemore.	... ...
... ...	Turlaghane . .	Tulrohaun.
... ...	Annagh.	... ...

Castles, 5.

V.

HISTORIA ET GENEALOGIA FAMILIÆ DE BURGO.

The following is an extract from a small volume of parchment leaves in an old binding, which was in the possession of the Bishop of Clogher in the seventeenth century, and is now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, marked F4.13.A. It is entitled "Historia et Genealogia Familiæ de Burgo." A translation by Hennessy is in the same library.

It begins with this extract, which is followed by a historical pedigree of Sir John Bourke, in which appears the date "1578 which now is." The earliest ancestors seem to be imaginary. Baldwin de Burgo, of the family of the Counts of Flanders, King of Jerusalem, comes in as a conqueror in the East, King of the Saracens, and is made father of William who came to Ireland, from whom the descent is carried down correctly to Sir John, with notes regarding each ancestor. Considerable space is given to Sir William de Burgo's actions in the de Clare and Bruce wars, closing this part of the book. Many blank leaves follow.

Then come four coloured pictures of the Judgment and Crucifixion, and coloured pictures of Richard, son of William Conquer, and his descendants, ancestors of Sir John, excepting his father Oliverus.

A page is given to each figure. A short note of the name, with a few particulars sometimes, tells who is represented. The figures are all elaborately coloured, some in civil and some in military dress, the latter wearing a conical helmet without a crest. Sir John alone is on a horse, wearing conical helmet and long shirt of mail, carrying a long spear. He has no sword, and his shield is on one side. All the others carry sword and shield.

The page where Oliverus should be is headed "Arms of Clann William." Below is the shield, gold with a red cross, a black lion in the right and a white or natural hand in the left upper quarter. A heraldic helmet bears the hand as a crest. The hand shows a very short cuff in all cases. The shield has a mantling of foliage in red, green, and white, and is supported by two bird-beaked griffins of green with red and green wings. All the shields are alike in charges and colour.

The next page is blank but for a small note at head—"Place of Oliverus Burc."

After the figure of Sir John comes a very long poem in honour of Sir John and of all his ancestors, a metrical and highly imaginative version of the previous prose history. This is followed by many blank leaves, after which come copies of three documents of December 1584 and January 1585, recording agreements between Walter Kittagh Bourke and some Barretts.

Taking the shield of arms and the date of compilation, it may be inferred that the book was prepared with regard to the proposal that Sir John and his son should be made peers. The arrangement of contents and blank leaves suggests that space was left for additional matter as it might be found or prepared, such as the Barrett agreement.

The statements of MacWilliam's dues are drawn up in a confused form,

not the result of a detailed survey, by embodiment of ancient writings with abstracts of existing rights, so well known that detail was unnecessary.

So far as they relate to this county they may be taken as generally accurate, being supported at several points by independent evidence, and not contradicted.

MacWilliam's mensal lands in the barony of Kilmaine, in the three divisions of Conmaicne-Chuile, Muinter Creachain, and Oireacht Thomais, seem to be taken from some old record, as those lists of townlands serve no apparent purpose, and are not even exhaustive of the territory as regards the MacWilliamship.

My extracts are taken partly from an independent translation and partly from W. M. Hennessy's translation, but I have not followed his rendering of names of places, which is neither quite English nor quite Gaelic. The modern form is given when there is no doubt of the place meant, and when there is an established English spelling, the Irish spelling in doubtful cases. The names show places, not extents.

Excepting O'Dowda's rent, the money rents seem to be old rents due by freeholders of early times to superior lords whose titles had been acquired by Sir William Liath and the MacWilliams.

Military service or risings out are due by those chieftains who, though not within the county, acted usually with MacWilliam Eighter in the Connaught wars, O'Conor Roe and MacDermot and O'Kelly. They seem to be the result of alliance rather than of subordinate tenure, and these relations and services seem to have lapsed by the middle of the sixteenth century.

MacThomas Joy and Ross do not appear, because O'Flaherty held that country, from MacWilliam as it was considered, but free of rent and service.

The MacMorrises maintained a position of independence of MacWilliam Eighter, claiming in 1585 to hold of the Earls of Clanricard.

Historia et Genealogia Familiæ de Burgo.

MacWilliam's property; and it is too little.

MacWilliam's country here, viz.: from Furbough in the west of Connaught, in Muinter-Flaherty's country, to Ballymacscanlan near Dundalk, and from Lowhid[1] in Thomond-O'Brien to Ballyshannon near the Erne; and from the city of Limerick to Waterford. And he had himself four other counties as his inheritance, which are called shires in England, and the county of Kilkenny and the county of Tipperary, and from Barna on the south side of the west of Connaught to Inishark on the north side of Ubhall-O'Maille, and there is some of this Lordship in Inishboffin , and the province of Ulster, and the province of Connaught in length and breadth from sea to sea. And MacWilliam is Earl of the province of Ulster, and Lord of the province of Connaught.

Richard the second MacWilliam of Clann Ricaird—he is not of the family of the heirdom, for he is the second son of Richard Mor; and for that reason Clann Ricaird belongs to MacWilliam Iochtar, because it is he that is of the family of the rightful heir, as Richard the first, and these are his residences, viz.: Bally Loughrea when it is pleasing to God, and Bally Loughmask and Kinlough and Ballinrobe. And it was his ancestor that constructed

Ballymote, and New Castle of Inishowen, and the seven towers in Banada of Leyny, where the Gael made a monastery of those towers, and Moyculla[2] in the west of Connaught to the west of Galway. And it was his ancestors that had the province of Galway, and it belongs to himself when it pleases God and the Prince, as likewise the two Ca[ ] Bracons, the least that are had in Galway, and five hundred herrings from the Great Bac. And to prove this the fish cannot be divided even to-day in the place until a part of the fish is given to the Earl [ ] as alms for his own soul.

It is not to this writing which we have left behind us outside on the other side of this leaf that we yield or give credence, as it is on our conscience, but to Almighty God, and to the truth as we have seen it written, and that there were not (left unfinished in original).

And certainly as we have seen written the country of MacWilliam, and of his Ancestors before him, is from Furbough to Ballymacscanlan near Dundalk, and from Lowhid in Thomond unto Ballyshannon near the Erne, and from the city of Limerick to Waterford, which the Red Earl had together with four other counties he had as inheritance [which in English are called Shires], and the county of Kilkenny and the county of Tipperary.

Over here are his mensal lands, and their own baronies afterwards.

Here are the mensal lands of MacWilliam Burk, viz.: Conmaicne-Chuile, and Muinter Crechain, and Oireacht Thomáis.

Let us speak at first of the pobble of Walter Burk's family, viz.: the two ballies of Ath Cuirc,[3] and the two ballies of the Turlach, and the half-bally of the Creevagh,[4] and the half-bally of Carn Calain, and the bally of Coollisduff,[5] and the Ballytrasna,[6] and the bally of Rahard,[7] and the bally of the Tuath Riabhach, and the half-bally of Knockglass,[7] and Baile na Creiga, and the bally of Lisnamairgech, and the bally of Ellistron,[8] and the bally of Moneycrower,[8] and the bally of Dunmuirne, and the bally of Ardmoran,[9] and the half-bally of Knockroe,[9] and the half-bally of Cluain Conghail, and the Ballytrasna, and the half-bally of Lisnaheighnighe,[10] and the quarter of Cloonkerry.[7]

The pobble of the sept of Thomas Burk, viz.: Ballycurrin,[4] and the two Ballymacgibbons,[4] and Ballyshinnagan, and the bally of Cluainananaisin, and the bally of Lisuaimbelaigh, and Ballybackagh,[9] and the bally of Moycarha,[12] and the bally of Munfhaelanduis, and the bally of Maghcalgaigh,[11] and Baile Dealgach,[12] and Ballycusheen,[8] and the bally of Lisnarod,[13] and Ballynulty,[8] and the bally of Coolnagashell,[7] and the bally of Kilbrenan,[14] and the three quarters of Kilbrenan, and the half-bally of Gortbrack.

This is the pobble of Muinter Crechain, viz.: the bally of Coolcon,[15] and Baile Cartharach,[16] and Baile na nUltanach,[17] and the bally of Brittas,[15] and the bally of Coolishel,[18] and the bally of Kilkeeran,[19] and the bally of Lehinch,[15] and the bally of Rahard,[20] and the Baile Blaedhach,[21] and the bally of Kilglassan,[15] and Baile MicKiba, and the bally of Daireconihla,[22] and the half-bally of O'Mungan,[15] and the half-bally of Rathgranagher,[8] and these three are one bally, and the bally of Skealoghan,[15] and the bally of Muinochtraigh, and Ballymartin,[8] and Ballynakeeragh, and the half-bally of Cuillesatuirn,[23] and the half-bally of Ballaghboy, and the bally of Cloonshane.[24]

Here are other mensal lands of MacWilliam, viz.: 16 ballies of Clann Cu—— and 8 ballies of Tuathtruim, 24 ballies altogether.

Here is the Boardland of MacWilliam Burk in Ubhall, viz.: 10 ballies and the contents of 14 ballies in them, viz. two ballies of the country of the sept of Ricard Burk in Tir an Air,[25] and Baile O'Gobhaind, and the half-bally of Ederdaowen, and the half-bally of Muine.

This is the extent of the lordship of MacWilliam over the sept of Ulick Burk, viz.: the bally of Ardagh, and Ballyknock. That is his share of country in Ubhall.

Here is MacWilliam's lordship over the sept of Thomas Roe Burk, viz.: Bally O bhFiachain[26] and Bailebotha, and the bally of Castleaffy, and Ballinlough.

There is a beef out of each bally of them, and a rising out and the food and billeting of five in every bally of those 25 ballies. There are eight mercenaries in every bally also, under MacWilliam, along with his Gallowglasses. There is a beef out of every bally of the free land of MacWilliam, viz.: in Bally Loughmask, and in Kinlough; and a barrel of ale and a pot of honey out of every quarter of them, as we have heard and received from the stewards; and a basin of wheaten flour at Christmas, and a half-basin at Easter, and provision for the rising out, and six bundles of oats, and twelve white candles, in every quarter of them. And there are two marks in the country of MacPhilbin, and the mark of Drumrany. And every MacWilliam has a penny and thirteen ounces in the country of MacTibbot's sept in Cushlough. And every MacWilliam has five marks in the country of O'Dowda (and he himself submissive of his will the time this is written).

I am O'Dowda, *i.e.* Cathal Dubh.

I am the Cosnaidhe Og, son of the Brehon, who was present at that, *i.e.* MacMorris's Brehon.

MacWilliam has food and provisions in Ballykine, according to the testimony of the Stewards and Charters.

This is the barony of Tirawley, the *locum comitis* of the country itself, *i.e.* the Earl's place. And this MacWilliam found in it eighteen score of rising out, including three score armed horsemen, and six score kerne, and nine score gillies and horses bearing their own provisions, and three score marks of rent and obligation.

Here are the lands on which that is. At first, in the Eastern Bac[27] six ballies of reward, and in the Western Bac[28] five ballies of reward, five ballies and a quarter in Glen Nephin, and these are their names: The bally of the Corran,[29] and the bally of the Creevy,[30] and the half Ballymoyock,[31] and the half Ballyvicmaha,[30] and the half-bally of Caorthannan,[31] and the quarter of Dervin,[31] and the quarter of Ballymacredmond,[31] and the quarter of Ballynalynagh,[30] and the quarter of Ballybrinoge,[30] and the half-bally of Moylaw,[30] and the Carrowcloghagh,[30] and the half-bally of Trintach, and the half-bally of Rathrooeen,[32] and Ballysakeery, and Carrowreagh,[32] and the Ceathramha Chuigeadach,[32] and the half-bally of Rathoma,[32] and the quarter of the Carbad,[33] and the quarter of Killaghy,[34] and the Carrowmore,[35] and the quarter of Baile Hostin, and five half-quarters in Ross[36] from Sailin inwards, and the half-bally of the Lagbuaile.[37]

Two ounces wanting of five marks in Iniscoe as rent and obligation, twelve marks of rent and obligation in the two ballies of Crossmolina,

twenty shillings and eightpence in the bally of the Corbally,[38] twenty shillings and eightpence in Baile Meadhonach, twenty shillings and eightpence in the bally of Lough Brone,[39] twenty shillings and eightpence in the bally of Cill Aodhain,[40] twenty shillings and eightpence in the bally of the Cobhruidhe, an ounce of gold and a groat in the quarter of the Carn, three ounces and twopence in Carrowmore, three ounces and twopence in the quarter of Ballynaleck,[35] three ounces and twopence in the Carrowsteelagh,[41] twenty shillings and eightpence in Baile an Oireacht, twenty shillings and eightpence in Rathlacken, an ounce of gold in the country of Clann Philip,[42] nine ounces and eightpence in the bally of Kilbride, twenty shillings and eightpence in Ballycastle, fourteen ounces in the bally of Aghaleague,[35] an ounce of gold and a groat in Ballinglen,[43] three ounces in the bally of Carna, an ounce of gold and a groat in the half Ballintubber,[44] fourteen ounces in Baile Faraidh,[45] five ounces and a groat in the half Balloughdalla,[32] three ounces and twopence in the quarter of Caisel,[46] an ounce and a shilling in Ballyduffy,[31] nine groats in the quarter of Breaghwy,[47] two marks in Baile O gComain, three ounces and twopence in the quarter of Derreen,[32] three ounces and twopence in the quarter of Cooneal,[32] an ounce in Ballymackeehola.[32]

The stewards are here giving testimony according as they have received from their ancestors who came before them, that every land whose own inheritor could not pay should be proclaimed as MacWilliam's; and moreover, if MacWilliam's rent in any land was less than the rent of the other lords, that it would not be competent for those lords to obtain their own rent until MacWilliam should first obtain his rent. And MacWilliam's rent is on the soil, and it is not reported that his claim was ever challenged.

This is MacWilliam's rising out on O'Maille, viz.: six score hands to be maintained by himself, but they have maintenance of the first night from MacWilliam; and their own provision is on themselves from that out, as we have found it written before us.

This is the rising out of MacWilliam on Tir-Maine, viz.: six score mail, and six score horsemen, and six score kerne, on their own maintenance. And he has six score mail from O'Conor Roe, and MacDermott, and six score horsemen, and six score mercenaries. And O'Conor Roe is surety for this to MacWilliam.

This is MacWilliam's rising out upon Carra, viz.: eight score mercenaries on their own maintenance.

This is MacWilliam Burk's rising out on the Clann-Costello and their country, viz.: three score mail, and three score mercenaries, and the cavalry standard of MacCostello, and 14 marks of rent.

On Gallen in like manner, on their own maintenance (because it was MacWilliam's ancestor that granted Ballylahan, on condition that they themselves would pay the duties), viz.: three score mail, and three score horsemen, and three score kerne; and not all the demesne lands, baronies, or Gallowglasses that you possess can pay all that to MacWilliam on account of the extent of his claims on you, and your great unwillingness to grant them to him, and his neglect to exact them from you altogether. And moreover, you lying, false, disobedient, inconsistent (left unfinished).

On that account MacWilliam Burk, *i.e.* John, son of Oliver, went to

prefer his complaint to the house of the Court against you, to Captain Malbie. And the Captain and Council, viz. the Archbishop of Tuam, and Master Bacon, and Justice Dillon, and Edward White, made an order for him here, *i.e.* two beeves for every armed man, and two beeves for every horseman, and a beef for every kerne. And that is the same as two beeves in every quarter throughout his lordship, unless it is more than that. And they had reason for that, for they allowed not power of superiority or chief-command to any man whatever about that time. And they did this for his board and maintenance, *i.e.* of MacWilliam. And MacWilliam has this order, written in English, from the hand of the Council.

This is the portion of the country people, and of the readers of the Gaelic tongue, of the book and of the lordship of MacWilliam Burk. And the chronicle of MacWilliam in Latin is written before us down here.

NOTES.

[1] In Co. Clare. Close to Tobbereendoney in Beagh parish, Co. Galway. [2] Moycullen is meant probably. [3] Castletown in Cong. [4] In Cong par. [5] In Kilmolara and Kilmainebeg. [6] Adjoining them in Kilmainebeg. [7] In Ballinrobe. [8] In Kilmainemore. [9] In Kilmainebeg. [10] Ballisnahyny in Kilmainebeg, detached. [11] Probably about Carrowreagh in Kilmainemore. [12] Mocorha and Dalgan in Shrule. [13] Between Turin Castle and Milford. [14] In Moorgagagh. [15] In Kilcommon. [16] Carras in same. [17] Oultauns in same. [18] Included Lissatava. [19] Included Garreens. [20] North of Roundfort. [21] In Kilcommon, but not identified. [22] Included Ballymangan in Kilcommon. [23] Probably adjoined Coollisduff. [24] Near Lehinch. [25] Tiranaur, west of Burrisool. [26] Newport. [27] Ballynahaglish and Kilmoremoy. [28] Kilbelfad and Ardagh. [29] Killacorran in Crossmolina. [30] In Crossmolina. [31] In Addergoole. [32] In Ballysakeery. [33] In Templemurry. [34] Carn in Lackan. [35] In Lackan. [36] In Killala. [37] Rusheens in Ballysakeery. [38] In ancient Bredagh, probably in Moygawnagh. [39] Cloonagh Lake in Ardagh. [40] The same as Kilfian. [41] In Kilcummin. [42] About Portnahally. [43] In Doonfeeny. [44] In Kilfian. [45] Mullafarry, or near it, in Ballysakeery. [46] Probably near Kilroe in Killala. [47] Breaghwy in Kilfian (?).

VI.

THE INDENTURE OF COMPOSITION OF 1585.

This is taken from a volume in the Public Record Office of Dublin, entitled "Indentures of Composition, Elizabeth, I.C. 5d. 226," containing copies of the indentures made respecting many territories at this time, and of inquisitions, offices, and orders connected therewith. The originals were sent to England for issue of the queen's grants of the hereditary estates secured to the lords and gentlemen. Some of the names are incorrectly copied, and the numbers of the quarters are certainly incorrect, as items and totals differ materially in several cases. I give the names of places in modern form and spelling if there is no doubt of what is meant, as Ballycarra for Ballynecarrae, Brees for Berys.

The Abbey of Strade had been made a Crown manor, and all tenures granted by the queen were to be held "as of her manor of Strade," such a tenure being less onerous than a tenure *in capite* of the sovereign. The

grants were of two kinds, with goods of felons, &c., to those of chieftain rank, and without those rights to men of less position. All held by knight's service, the former by the twentieth and the latter by the fortieth part of a knight's fee, except the bishops and the Earl of Ormond. As the grants are in forms which vary only verbally, I give the normal grants in abstract after the first of each kind, unless there is a variation of substance.

Co. Mayo.

"This Indenture made Betwixt the Right Honourable Sir John Perrot Knight Lord Deputy General of Ireland, for and in the behalf of the Queen's most excellent Majesty of the one part, And the Reverend Father in God William Archbishop of Tuam, Owen Elect Bishop of Killala, Sir Richard Bourke of the Newton Knight, otherwise called MacWilliam Eyghter, Walter Kittagh Bourke of Belleek Gent., William Bourke of Ardnarea Gent., Edmund Bourke MacOliver of Rappa Gent., Richard Barrett of Ross, otherwise called MacPaddin chief of his name, Pierce Barrett of Ballysakeery Gent., Myly MacEvily of Kinturk, otherwise called MacEvily chief of his name, Edmond Bourke of Castlebar, Tanist to the said MacWilliam Eyghter, William Bourke of Ballycarra otherwise called the Blind Abbot, Moyler Bourke of Castellmckerra[1] Gent., Tybott Reogh Bourke of Boherfayne Gent., Edmond Evagher MacJordan of Bellalahen, otherwise called MacJordan, Moyler MacJordan of the Newcastle Gent., Walter Leaghe MacStevane of Corran MacStephen Gent., Jordan MacThomas of Bellahaghe[2] Gent., Richard MacMorris of the Brees otherwise called MacMorris chief of his name, Davye MacMorris of Castlemacgarrett Gent., Walter MacErydry of Castlereagh Gent., William Bourke of Shrule Gent., Edmond Bourke of Cong Gent., Ricard Oge Bourke of Cloonagashell Gent., Molaghlyn O'Malley of Belclare otherwise called O'Malley chief of his name, Teige Roe O'Malley of Cahernemart Gent., Owen O'Malley of the same Gent., Dermott MacArte of Clare Gent., Gilladuff MacGibbon of Ballynekillye Gent., Ricard Oge MacGibbon of Glankeen Gent., Sherrone[a] MacGibbon of Lackan Gent., Nicholas FitzSymons of Dunmacknynye[3] Gent., Walter Mac Phillipyne of Brehe[4] otherwise called MacPhillipyne chief of his name, Ferraghe Mac Tirlagh Roe of Carrickmadye[5] Gent., Edmond Oge MacGibbon of Derrymacgornan, William Bourke of Tiraun Gent., Ricard Og Mac Tomyne of Ballicroy Gent., Edmond Barrett of Dowlagh[6] Gent., John Browne of the Neale Gent., Richard Barrett of Kyrenan Gent., and John Caree of Downmacknyny Gent., of the other part,

"Witnesseth that where the whole country or territory of Mayo is divided into nine principal Baronies, that is to wit, the Barony of Crossboyne *alias* Clanmorris, the Barony of Kilmaine, the Barony of Murrisk, the Barony of Burrishoole, the Barony of Invermore *alias* Erris, the Barony of Moyne *alias* Tirawley, the Barony of Burriscarra *alias* Carra, the Barony of Bellalahen *alias* Gallen, and the Barony of Clancostello which (omitting out of this book the said Barony of Clancostello) contain in themselves, as well by ancient division as by late inquisition presentments hereunto annexed, the number of a thousand four hundred forty-eight quarters and a half of land esteeming

[a] Seathrún, Irish form for Geoffrey.

every quarter with his meadow pasture wood and bog 120 acres as by a more particular laying down of the same in manner and form following it may appear.

"First in the Barony of Crossboyne *alias* Clanmorris there is a quantity of land called the Bree consisting of 7 quarters, Also Derowel consisting of 14 quarters, Also the Murneen consisting of 12 quarters, Also Ballyhowley and Castlegar consisting of 9 quarters, Also Caslane Enlecare[7] consisting of 13 quarters, Also Ballykinave consisting of 12 quarters, Also Castlekeel consisting of 3 quarters, Also Castlemacgarrett consisting of 4 quarters, Also Downmacnynye and Castlereagh consisting of 22 quarters, Also Carrowbeg consisting of 4 quarters, Also Keankylly consisting of 14 quarters, Also Ahena consisting of 6 quarters, Also Clogher consisting of 2 quarters, Also Barreel consisting of 4 quarters, Also Knockaunakill consisting of 1 quarter, Also Ballynastangford consisting of 3 quarters, Also Ballymacadam consisting of 4 quarters, Also the Sept of Rickard Fynn consisting of 8 quarters, Also the Sept of Moyntercullenan consisting of 4 quarters, Also Clonbane consisting of 4 quarters, Also Bally MacRickard consisting of 2 quarters, Also Kilvenhene consisting of 2 quarters, Also the Roosky consisting of 2 quarters, Also Cowlera consisting of 2 quarters, Also Cloondinnaire consisting of 1 quarter, Also Carrolaghemore consisting of one quarter, Also Ballycranan[8] 4 quarters and Termon consisting of 24 quarters belonging to the Archbishopric of Tuam, also the Abbey of Ballinsmala consisting of one quarter belonging to Her Majesty, Also Killvondane consisting of 2 quarters belonging to the Queen's Majesty in right of the Abbey of Mayo, Also Crossboyne consisting of one quarter, Also Kilcowle[9] consisting of 4 quarters belonging to Her Majesty as in right of the Abbey of Mayo aforesaid, Also Cappagh and Derradae consisting of 2 quarters, Also Knockadorraghy and Ballinaster consisting of one quarter belonging to Her Majesty as in right of the said Abbey of Mayo, Also Glaneghelrine[10] and Skrykene consisting of one quarter, Also Lehanagh and Portagh consisting of one quarter, Ballyhumillane and Shinganagh consisting of one quarter, Also Ballymullavil and Ballymagorane consisting of one quarter, Also Ballyclanristarde consisting of one quarter, which in the whole within that Barony cometh to the 200 quarters.

"In the Barony of Kilmaine there is a quantity of land called Conmycknecowlye consisting of 128 quarters, whereof belongeth to William Bourke MacShane and his freeholders 80 quarters, and to Edmond Bourke MacThomas Evaghery and his freeholders 48 quarters, Also Moyntercreaghane consisting of 32 quarters, Also Eyghterhyre consisting of 80 quarters, Also Lough Mask consisting of 12 quarters, Also Ballinrobe consisting of 4 quarters, Also Ballynclonty[11] consisting of 4 quarters, Also Kenlaghe consisting of 10 quarters, Also belonging to the Archbishopric of Tuam within the said Barony 26 quarters, Also 16 quarters belonging to the Queen's Majesty as in the right of the Abbey of Cong, Also one quarter belonging to Her Majesty as in right of the Abbey of Ballinrobe, Also Moyne consisting of 2 quarters, Also Lackafinna consisting of 2 quarters, Also 2 quarters belonging to Her Majesty in right of the Nunnery of Inishmaine and Ballinchalla, Also Dowryshe consisting of 2 quarters, which in the whole within that Barony cometh to the 321 quarters.

"In the Barony of Murrisk there is a quantity of land called Lorge Owle O'Mayle consisting of 36 quarters, Also Ilanenemoghere consisting of 36 quarters, Also there is a quantity of land belonging to the Archbishopric of Tuam consisting of 7 quarters, Also one quarter belonging to Her Majesty as in right of the Abbey of Murrisk, which in the whole within that Barony cometh to 80 quarters.

"In the Barony of Burrishoole there is a quantity of land called the Sept of Clanphillypins consisting of 24 quarters, Also the Sept of MacTybbott consisting of 16 quarters, Also Termon Aghagower consisting of 24 quarters belonging to the Archbishopric of Tuam, Also 8 quarters belonging to the Queen's Majesty in right of the Abbey of Ballintubber, Also these parcels of land following belonging as is said to the Earl of Ormonde, viz.: Achill consisting of 4 quarters, Tiranair and Burrishowle consisting of 12 quarters, Also Ballyvaghan[12] consisting of 6 quarters whereof belongeth to the Archbishopric of Tuam 2 quarters, Also Baleagowre[13] consisting of 3 quarters, Also Kennarde consisting of 4 quarters, Also Lecarroboher consisting of 4 quarters, Also Clogher consisting of 4 quarters, Also Ballyhellynan consisting of 4 quarters, Also Roska and Rosnebrare consisting of 2 quarters belonging to the Archbishopric of Tuam, Also Money consisting of 2 quarters, Also Ferrentyre consisting of 2 quarters, Also Kilmaclasser consisting of 2 quarters belonging to the Archbishopric of Tuam, Also Cagall consisting of 2 quarters, which in the whole within the Barony cometh to 119 quarters.

"In the Barony of Invermore *alias* Erris there is a quantity of land called Carne consisting of 4 quarters, Also Iar Erris consisting of 4 quarters, Also Leame consisting of 4 quarters, Also Toskerte consisting of 2 quarters, Also Ymlevegger[14] consisting of 2 quarters, Also Ballycroy consisting of 4 quarters belonging as is said to the Earl of Ormonde, Also Glankoalehinsky consisting of 4 quarters, Also Dookeeghan consisting of 4 quarters, Also Carrowkenowghyne consisting of 2 quarters, Also Ballymunnelly consisting of one quarter, Also Glenmoy and Dooncarton consisting of one quarter, Also Innvre and Great Inishkea consisting of 2 quarters, Also Leteraghe consisting of one quarter, Also Kilteyny consisting of one quarter belonging to Her Majesty in right of the Abbey of Ballintubber, Also the Cross consisting of 3 quarters belonging to Her Majesty in right of the Abbey of Cross, Also Termon Kilmore consisting of 2 quarters whereof belongeth to the Bishopric of Killala one quarter, Also Termon Carragh consisting of 2 quarters belonging to the said Bishopric of Killala, Also Kilcommon consisting of half a quarter belonging to the said Bishopric, Also Ballycroy consisting of 1 quarter belonging to the said Bishopric, which in the whole within that Barony cometh to 43 quarters.

"In the Barony of Moyne *alias* Tirawley there is a quantity of land called the Cowrine of Ballynew *alias* the Newtown consisting of 40 quarters, Also Cowrine ne Rappa consisting of 33 quarters, Also Cowrine Belleek consisting of 48 quarters, Also Barrett's cowrine consisting of 18 quarters, Also Toae Castlereagh consisting of 16 quarters, Also the Laggan and the Clandonnells consisting of 36 quarters, Also Toae Keherrenan consisting of 18 quarters, Also Toae Boawynyne[16] and Glanhosty[17] consisting of 26 quarters, Also Ardnarea consisting of 4 quarters whereof two quarters belongeth to the Bishopric of Killala, in the said Barony belonging to the Bishopric of Killala 39 quarters,

Also the Grange of the Newtown consisting of 4 quarters belonging to Her Majesty as in right of the Abbey of Knockmoy, Also belonging as is said to the Dean and Chanter of Killala 2 quarters, Also belonging to the Queen's Majesty as in right of the Abbey of Rathfran 2 quarters, which in the whole within that Barony cometh to 287 quarters.

"In the Barony of Burriscarra *alias* Carra there is a quantity of land called Cowryne Donamona consisting of 21 quarters, Also Cowryne Ballycarra consisting of 22 quarters, Also Cowryne Manulla consisting of 21 quarters, Also Cowryne Kinturk consisting of 25 quarters, Also Cowryne Partry and Castlekeeran consisting of 22 quarters, Also the half Cowryne of Clooneen consisting of 10 quarters, Also the half Cowrine of Luffertaun consisting of 10 quarters, Also Sleight Ulick Bourke and Sleight Davy Duff Bourke consisting of 21 quarters, Also the Cowrine of Turlough consisting of 21 quarters, Also Cowryne Castle Barry consisting of 21 quarters, Also Slewoney [18] consisting of 24 quarters, Also Drum and Ballyvorny consisting of 8 quarters, Also Ballintubber consisting of 8 quarters belonging to the Queen's Majesty in right of the Abbey of Ballintubber, Also Levallynetavese [19] consisting of 8 quarters, Also Cloondowane [20] consisting of 2 quarters, Also Kearoweruvy [21] consisting of 4 quarters, Also Ballyovey consisting of 4 quarters belonging to the Archbishopric of Tuam, which in the whole within that Barony cometh to 253 quarters.

"In the Barony of Ballylahan *alias* Gallen there is a quantity of land called Clan Stephen [22] consisting of 16 quarters, Also Clanmanny consisting of 16 quarters, Also Toa Boycolloe consisting of 16 quarters, Also Toa Newcastle consisting of 16 quarters, Also Coolcarney and Toa Bellahaghe consisting of 44 quarters, Also Kinaff and Killedan consisting of 6 quarters belonging to the Bishopric of Achonry, Also Bellalahan consisting of 16 quarters, Also belonging to the Queen's Majesty as in right of the Abbey of Strade 4 quarters, which in the whole within that Barony cometh to 160 quarters.

"All which being drawn into one total cometh to the aforesaid number of 1448½ quarters, whereof belongeth to the Queen's Majesty 58 quarters, to the Lords Spiritual 151 quarters, and to the Earl of Ormonde 40 quarters.

"The said Lords, Chieftains, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Farmers, acknowledging the manifold benefits and easements which they find in possessing of their lands and goods since the peaceable government of the said Lord Deputy and the just dealing of Sir Richard Bingham Knight their chief officer, as well against common malefactors and spoilers as also against the immeasurable cesses and oppressions of all sorts of men of war heretofore laid upon them, Have in consideration thereof and for that the said right honourable the Lord Deputy doth promise warrant and grant to and with the said lords, chieftains, gentlemen, freeholders and inhabitants of the said County of Mayo for and in behalf of the Queen's most excellent Majesty that they and any of them their heirs and successors and assigns within the said Co. of Mayo shall from and after the date hereof be freely and wholly discharged acquitted and exonerated for ever of and from all manner of cesses, taxes, charges, exactions, cuttings, impositions, purveying, cattinge, finding or bearing of soldiers, kearntyes and all other burdens whatever other than the rents reservations and charges hereafter in this Indenture

specified and to be enacted by Parliament, willingly and thankfully, for them, their heirs, successors and assigns, given and granted like as hereby they do give and grant to the said Right Honourable the Lord Deputy and his heirs to the use and behoof of the Queen's most excellent Majesty her heirs and successors for ever, one yearly rent charge of 10 shillings of good lawful money of England going out of every quarter of 1200 quarters of the aforesaid number of 1448 quarters of land, which in the whole amounteth yearly to the sum of £600 sterling payable at the feasts of St. Michael the Archangel and Easter by two portions, the first payment to begin at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel next ensuing the date hereof, and so yearly for ever at the several feasts aforesaid, at Her Highness's exchequer within the same realm of Ireland or to the hands of the vice treasurer or general receiver of the same realm for the time being, and for lack of money to be paid in the exchequer as aforesaid, the same treasurer or general receiver to receive kyne to the value of the said rent or so much thereof as shall remain unpaid at the rate of 13s. 4d. sterling for every good and lawful beef.

"And if it fortune the said rent of £600 sterling to be behind and unpaid in part or in all as in manner and form aforesaid, that then it shall be lawful unto the said Right Honourable the Lord Deputy or other Governor or Governors of this realm for the time being, or to the treasurer or general receiver for the time being, to enter and distrain in all and singular the lands tenements and hereditaments of [the said] 1200 quarters, And the distress taken to detain and keep until the said yearly rent as afore be fully and wholly satisfied and paid. Provided always if it fortune any part of the quarters subject to this composition to be waste as it beareth neither horn nor corn, that the same shall not be laid upon the rest, but shall be forborne both in rent and arrearages during that time.

"And further the persons above named for them, their heirs and assigns do covenant promise and grant to and with the said Right Honourable the Lord Deputy and his heirs for and in the behalf of the Queen's most excellent Majesty her heirs and successors not only to answer and bear yearly for ever to all hostings, roods, and journies within the said Province of Connaught and Thomond whereas and at what time they shall be thereunto commanded by the Lord Deputy or other Governor or Governors of this realm or by the chief officer of the said Province 40 good able horsemen and 200 footmen well armed upon their own proper cost and charges over and beside the rent aforesaid (the land assigned by this Indenture as demesnes to the houses and manors of the said Lords Spiritual always excepted), but also to answer and bear to all general hostings proclaimed in this realm 15 good able horsemen and 50 footmen well armed upon their own proper cost and charges during the time of the said general hosting, if the Lord Deputy or other Governor of this realm for the time being do require the same, saving and reserving always This privilege and favour of Her Majesty's Grace to the said Lords Spiritual that they in no other sort or manner shall answer or bear to this general hosting than as their peers of the English bishops of this realm doth or ought to do.

"And further it is condescended concluded and agreed as well by the said Right Honourable the Lord Deputy for and in the behalf of the Queen's most excellent Majesty as also by William Archbishop of Tuam, Owen Elect

Bishop of Killala, Sir Richard Bourke Knight, Walter Kittagh, William Bourke, Edmond Bourke, Richard Barrett, Piers Barrett, MacEvillie, Edmond Bourke, William Bourke, Moyler Bourke, Tybbot Ryogh Bourke, and others above named in manner and form following, viz.: that the names, styles, titles of captainships, Tanistships and all other Irish authorities and jurisdictions heretofore used by the said Chieftains and Gentlemen, together with all election and customary division of land occasioning great strife and contention amongst them, shall from henceforth be utterly abolished extinct renounced and put back within the said country of Mayo for ever.

"In consideration whereof and for that Her Majesty doth most graciously mind the benefits and advancement of every good subject according to his degree by reducing of their uncertain and unlawful manner of taking from others to a certain and more beneficial state of living for them and their heirs than their said pretended titles and claims did or could hitherto afford them, the said Right Honourable the Lord Deputy for and in the behalf of the Queen's most excellent Majesty, And also the aforesaid Chieftains, Gentlemen, and Freeholders on the behalf of themselves and the rest of the inhabitants of the said country doth covenant, promise grant and agree to and with the said Sir Richard Bourke Knight, that where the Barony of Kilmaine consisteth of 321 quarters of land, whereof belongeth to the Queen's Majesty 19 quarters, to the Lords Spiritual 26 quarters, and to the Earl of Clanrickard 4 quarters, and so remaineth 272 quarters,

"The said Sir Richard Bourke otherwise called MacWilliam Eyghter, in respect of the ancienty of his name and for the better supportation and maintenance of the degree of Knighthood whereunto it hath pleased the Queen's most excellent Majesty to call him, shall have receive and take by Letters Patent from Her Majesty to him his heirs and assigns the Castles or Manors of Ballyloughmask, Kinlough, and Ballinrobe and 34 quarters of land with their appurtenants set lying and being as well in the said Ballyloughmask, Kinlough and Ballinrobe as in the towns belonging to the same as a demesne to the said manors freely exonerated and discharged of and from this composition, together with all the goods and chattels of persons attainted of felony that shall hap or chance to dwell or inhabit within the aforesaid quarters of land, and all other casualties and amercements that shall grow from time to time within the same, and also shall have hold possess and enjoy to him and his heirs one yearly rent charge of 3s. 4d. sterling going out of every quarter of 66 towns of freeholders' lands in the said Barony viz.: the Bourkes, Jonyns, Clanmoylers and Sleight vick Tybbott, which after 4 quarters to every town maketh 264 quarters amounting by the year to 66 marks sterling, in full recompense of all such Rents, Beeves, Spendings, and other customary exactions by him claimed, by the said freeholders lands (not charging the portion of the waste lands upon the inhabited), and that they and every of them their heirs and assigns according to his and their portions of land shall hold the aforesaid 264 quarters of land of the said Sir Richard Bourke and his heirs by knight's service, viz.: by the 40th part of a knight's fee, as of his said Castle or Manor of Ballyloughmask, and shall do suit and service to the Court Baron and Leet of the said manor, together with all the goods and chattels of persons attainted of felony that shall hap or chance to dwell or inhabit within the aforesaid 264 quarters

of land, and all other casualties and amercements that shall grow from time to time within the same.

"And also one yearly rent charge of 3s. 4d. sterling going out of every quarter of 26 towns of freeholders' lands in the barony of Carra, viz.: the lands of the Bourkes in Toatroyme, Klyncowane and Mac Ivyle's, which after 4 to every town maketh 104 quarters, whereof the said Mac Ivyles is to be charged but with 8 quarters, amounting by the year to £17, 6s. 8d., In full recompense of all such rents, beeves, spendings, and other customary exactions by him claimed upon the said freeholders' lands (not charging the portion of the waste land upon the inhabited).

"And also one yearly rent charge of 3s. 4d. sterling going out of every quarter of 10 towns of freeholders' lands in the Barony of Burrishoole, viz.: the lands of Sleight Walter Bouy, Sleight Mac Kaage boy,[23] the Clandonnells, and the Bourkes, which after 4 quarters to every town maketh 40 quarters, and also a yearly rent charge of 27s. 6d. sterling divided upon six quarters of Mac Phillipine and his kinsmen's land, and also a yearly rent charge of 15s. sterling divided upon 3 quarters of the said Mac Phillipine's lands in Dromrany[24] at 5s. sterling the quarter, amounting to £8, 15s. 10d., in full recompense of all such rents, beeves, rent money, spendings, and other customary exactions by him claimed upon the said freeholders' lands (not charging the portion of the waste land upon the inhabited).

"And also one yearly rent charge of 5s. sterling going out of every quarter of 160 quarters of freeholders' lands in the Barony of Moyne, viz.: the lands of the Barretts, Bourkes, Lynots, Clanpadyne, Cusacks, Carews, and Clandonnells, amounting by the year to £40 sterling, in full recompense of such yearly rents besides other spendings and exactions by him claimed upon the said freeholders' lands (not charging the portion of waste land upon the inhabited).

"It Is Likewise covenanted, granted, and agreed as aforesaid that the said Sir Richard Bourke Knight shall have hold possess and enjoy to him his heirs and assigns the Castle of the Newtown in the Barony of Moyne aforesaid and 10 quarters of land lying as well in and about the same as in the towns belonging thereunto exonerated and discharged of and from this Composition with all the goods and chattels of persons attainted of felony that shall hap or chance to dwell or inhabit within the aforesaid ten quarters of land, and all other casualties and amercements growing from time to time within the same, and that he and his heirs shall hold all and singular the said castles manors and lands of the Queen's Majesty, her heirs and successors by knight's service, viz.: by the 20th part of a knight's fee as of her manor or house of Strade in the County of Mayo and one fair chief horse yearly to be presented and given in Her Majesty's name to the Lord Deputy or other Governor of this realm for the time being on midsummerday with these words engraven with gold *Unde veni redeo.*

"It is also covenanted, condescended, and agreed that the Archbishop of Tuam for the better supportation of his calling and dignity shall have hold possess and enjoy to him and his successors such mansion places as he possesseth in right of his said Archbishopric in the towns of Mayo, Cong, and Aghagower with 12 quarters of land in the Barony of Kilmaine and Clanmorris as a demesne to the said places freely exonerated and discharged

of and from this composition together with all the goods and chattels of persons attainted of felony that shall hap or chance to dwell and inhabit within the aforesaid 12 quarters of land and all other casualties and amercements that shall grow from time to time within the same.

"And that also Thomas Earl of Ormonde and Orrerye who is said to be seized of 40 quarters of land as his inheritance in and belonging to the Manor of Burrishoole shall have hold possess and enjoy to him and his heirs the aforesaid manor and 40 quarters with their rents and services due to the same quarters of land freely exonerated and discharged of and from this Composition according to the purport and meaning of a concordatum passed for the freeing of all the said Earl's lands within this realm.

"And that the said Earl and his heirs shall hold the same of Her Majesty's heirs and successors by knight's service, viz.: by the 20th part of a knight's fee as of her said house or manor of Strade.

"And that also Ulick Earl of Clanrickard who is said to be seized of the castle and town of Moyne in the Barony of Kilmaine shall have hold possess and enjoy the same to him and his heirs with six quarters of land whereof two lieth in Ballymartin freely exonerated and discharged of and from this Composition, the same to be holden of Her Majesty her heirs and successors as of her said house or Manor of Strade by like tenure and service as is aforesaid.

"And that Owen elect Bishop of Killala shall have hold possess and enjoy to him and his successors the town of Killala aforesaid in the Barony of Moyne and 6 quarters of land with their appurtenances as a demesne to the same freely exonerated and discharged of and from this Composition together with all the goods and chattels of persons attainted of felony that shall hap or chance to dwell within the aforesaid 6 quarters of land and all other casualties and amercements that shall grow from time to time within the same.

"It is likewise condescended granted and agreed that Edmond Bourke of Castlebar shall have receive and take by Letters Patent from the Queen's Majesty to him his heirs and assigns the town and castle of Castlebar aforesaid in the Barony of Burriscarra and 10 quarters of land with their appurtenances next adjoining to the same as a demesne to his said castle freely exonerated and discharged of and from this Composition, and shall also have hold possess and enjoy to him and his heirs other 22 quarters of land subject to this Composition, whereof he and his kinsmen are now said to be seized as of their inheritance in the Barony aforesaid, and that he and they and every of them and their heirs according to his and their portion of land shall hold the same of the Queen's Majesty her heirs and successors by knight's service, viz.: the 40th part of a knight's fee as of Her Majesty's said house of Strade in the County of Mayo."

William Bourke of Shrule shall have the town and castle of Cloghan in the Barony of Kilmaine and 8 quarters free, and other 18 quarters in that Barony subject to Composition.

William Bourke the Blind Abbot shall have the castle of Ballycarra and 8 quarters free, if he have so much of his own inheritance.

Edmond Bourke of Rappa shall have that castle and town and 4 quarters free, and the rest of his lands subject to Composition.

David Bourke of Castlereagh shall have the Castle of Carrickanass and 6 quarters free, and half of Castlereagh and 6 quarters in Castlereagh, Corane and Carrowgarrafe subject to Composition.

Walter Kittagh Bourke shall have the castles of Belleek and Crossmolina and 8 quarters free, and other 12 quarters belonging to those castles and Castlereagh subject to Composition.

William Bourke of Ardnarea shall have the castle and town of Ardnarea and 4 quarters, and Castlelacken and 4 quarters, free, and other 6 quarters in Ballycashell and Ballóughdalla subject to Composition.

Edmond Bourke of Cong, said to be seized of 20 quarters in Barony of Kilmaine as his inheritance, shall have 6 quarters adjoining his castles of Aquirk[25] and Ballycurrin free, the rest subject to Composition.

Richard Og Bourke of Cloonagashell, now seized of 20 quarters in Barony of Kilmaine shall have 8 quarters thereof attached to that castle free.

"And where the Barony of Crossboyne consisteth of 200 quarters of land whereof belongeth to the Queen's Majesty 5 quarters, to the Archbishopric of Tuam as is said 24 quarters and to Nicholas FitzSymons 8 quarters, and so remaineth 163 quarters,

"It is likewise covenanted etc. . . . that for the better maintenance of the said MacMorris his living, otherwise surnamed FitzGerald or Prendergast, chief lord of the said Barony of Crossboyne, he shall have etc. . . . the Castle or Manor of the Bree and 4 quarters of land with their appurtenances adjoining or belonging thereunto, and also other 4 quarters of land in the Termon, whereof he is said to be now seized as in right of the name and lordship of MacMorris freely etc. . . . and also the Castle or Manor of the Murneen and 5 quarters of land with their appurtenances belonging thereunto subject to this Composition in the Barony aforesaid, whereof he is said to be now seized as of his own and his kinsmen's inheritance, together with all the goods and chattels etc. . . . . by the 20th part of a knight's fee as of her said house or Manor of Strade in the County of Mayo.

"And that he shall have etc. . . . one yearly rent charge of 5s. sterling going out of every quarter of the residue of the said quarters being 143 quarters, amounting by the year to £35, 15s. in full recompense of all such rents, duties and customary exactions and spendings by him claimed upon the freeholders or inheritors of the same (not charging the portion of the waste land upon the inhabited), Together with all the goods and chattels etc. . . . . , and that they and every of them their heirs and assigns, according to his or their portion of land shall hold the same of the said Rickard MacMorris his heirs and assigns by knightly service, viz. : by the 40th part of a knight's fee, as of his said castle or manor of the Murneen, and shall do suit and service to the Court Baron and Court Leet of the same.

"And where the Barony of Bellalahen otherwise Gallen consisteth of 160 quarters of land, whereof belongeth to the Queen's Majesty 4 quarters and to the said Lords Spiritual 12 quarters, and so remaineth 144 quarters,

"It is likewise covenanted etc. . . . that the above named Edmond Vaghery otherwise called Jordain Dexeter Chief Lord of the said Barony shall for the better maintenance of his living have etc. . . . the castle or manor of Bellalahen and 8 quarters of land with their appurtenances of the same remain of 144 quarters of land whereof he is now seized as in right of the name of

MacJordan, freely etc. . . . as a demesne to his said castle or manor of Bellalahen, together with other 10 quarters of land which lieth in Tohe Bellahaghe and Coolcarney subject to this Composition, whereof he is said to be now seized as in right of his inheritance, together with all the goods and chattels etc. . . . by knight's service, viz.—the 20th part of a knight's fee etc.

"And also it is covenanted and agreed as aforesaid that the said MacJordain Dexeter, his heirs and assigns shall have one yearly rent charge of 5s. sterling going out of every quarter of the residue of the said quarters being 118 quarters, amounting by the year to £29, 10s. sterling in full recompense of all rents, duties, exactions and spendings by him claimed of the freeholders or inheritors of the same (not charging the portion of the waste land upon the inhabited) with all the goods and chattels etc. . . .

"And that they and every of them their heirs and assigns shall for his and their portion of land hold the same of the said MacJordan Dexeter his heirs and assigns by knight's service and the rent aforesaid, viz. by the 40th part of a knight's fee as of his said castle or manor of Bellalahen and shall do suit and service to the Court Baron and Court Leet of the said manor."

John Browne of the Neale, said to be seized of quarters in sundry Baronies, shall have that castle and 12 quarters thereof free.

Nicholas FitzSymons of Downmacnynye, said to be seized of 22 quarters, shall have 8 quarters thereof attached to his castles of Downmacnynye and Castlereagh, whereof 2 quarters are in Ballycullane, free.

Piers Barrett of Ballysakeery shall have out of his lands the castle of Ballysakeery and 4 quarters free.

Moyler and Tibbot Reoghe Bourke, sons to Walter Fada Bourke, shall have 10 quarters out of their lands, if they have so much, free, viz. 5 quarters to each attached to such of their castles as they may choose.

Shane MacHubert of Donamona, otherwise called the Parson of Donamona, in respect that the town and lands is greatly encumbered in holding of the Sessions there, shall have the castle and 4 quarters free.

Farragh MacDonnell of the Clooneen, in respect of his good service done on Her Majesty's side at the meeting of Shrule, shall have that castle and 4 quarters of his lands free.

Richard Barrett of Kyherrenan, in consideration of his service done at the said meeting of Shrule, shall have 2 quarters in the said Toae of Kyherrenan free.

Thomas Nolan of the Creevagh, in respect of his sufficiency to serve as a clerk in the said country, shall have the said castle and 3 quarters free.

Moyler Bourke FitzThomas of Clowneduffe in the Barony of Carra shall have 2 quarters adjoining his town of Clowneduffe free.

Jordan FitzThomas of Bellahagh in the Barony of Bellalahen shall have the said castle and 4 quarters free.

"And forasmuch as divers of the mean freeholders of the said County of Mayo and the tenants dwelling upon their lands are and shall be greatly burdened by this Composition, if the petty Lords and Captains next above them be allowed to take such rents and customary duties as they pretend to belong to their said petty captainships, which had their beginning but by compulsory means agreeable to the disorder of the time, for remedy whereof it is condescended, concluded, and agreed that the above named MacEvilie,

MacPaddyne, MacPhillipine, and O'Mally, and all others of that sort and calling and every of them, shall have, hold, possess, and enjoy to them their heirs and assigns, not only such castles and lands as belongeth to the name and calling of MacEvilie, MacPaddyne, MacPhillipine, and O'Malley, but also such castles and lands as they or any of them be now justly seized of as their inheritance, the same to descend from each of them to their heirs by course and order of the laws of England.

"And in respect of confirming unto them the said castles and lands in manner and form as is aforesaid, that after the decease of every of the said petty Lords or Captains now living the aforesaid rents and services shall thenceforth be utterly determined and extinguished for ever to the advantage and easement of the said freeholders and their heirs.

"Provided always that this Composition nor anything contained therein shall not be deemed constryd or adjudged to extend to bar or prejudice any man's right or title to any of the lands or rents mentioned in the same, but that the title and cause of action of them and every of them shall to him and them be saved according to the due course and order of Her Majesty's laws.

"Provided also that where there appeareth certain emulation or envy betwixt the above named MacWilliam Eyghter and his kinsmen, whereof there are some competitors that by reason of their birth, being descended of MacWilliams of greater fame and reputation than the said Sir Richard Bourke, think themselves more worthy of the English succession now devised by this Composition, and others standing upon their expectancy of succeeding his place wisheth the continuance of that customary name, that it shall rest in the consideration of the said Right Honourable Lord Deputy or other Governor or Governors of this realm for the time being how and in what sort the above named castles, manors, lands, rents, and seignories belonging to the name of MacWilliam shall be disposed, confirmed, or limited in possession or remainder to the said MacWilliam and his said kinsmen, anything in this Indenture contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

"And it is further covenanted, granted, and agreed that all the persons assigned by these Indentures to hold their lands of the Queen's Majesty her heirs and successors, by knight's service as of her house or manor of Strade, shall do suit and service to the Court Baron and Court Leet of the said manor from time to time.

"And the said Lords Spiritual, Chieftains, Gentlemen, freeholders, farmers, and inhabitants for them and either of them, their heirs, successors, and assigns, have and by these presents do give full power, consent, and assent that this present deed indented, and every word, clause, sentence, condition, and article therein contained shall be enrolled in Her Majesty's High Court of Chancery there to remain of record for ever.

"In witness whereof the said lords, chieftains, gentlemen, freeholders and inhabitants have to this part of this Indenture, remaining in the custody of the said Right Honourable the Lord Deputy for and in the behalf of the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, put their seals and subscribed their names the 13 of September A.D. 1585, and in the 27 year of the reign of our sovereign lady Elizabeth, by the Grace of God Queen of England France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith.

"Provided always that all such lands as John Browne aforesaid hath of his proper inheritance within the Barony of Gallen and Clanmorris, being 30 quarters and 3 cartrons, shall be fully acquitted and discharged of and from all rents services and demands of MacMorris or MacJordain other than a yearly rent charge of 12d. sterling going out of every of the said quarters yearly to them and their heirs, anything in this Indenture to the contrary notwithstanding.

"William Tweame. Owin Electe Killala. Richard Bourke. Walter Kittaghe. William Bourke. McEville. Edmond Bourke McOliverus. Mk . Peeter Barrett. McPaddine. William Bourke *alias* the Blind Abbot. McJordan's Mark. Water Leaghe McStephen. Richard Oge Bourke. Water M'Eriddery. McMorryshe. Davie McMurryshe. William Bourke of Srowle. Jordane McThomas. Edmond Barrett. One O'Mayle. O'Mayle. Nicholas FitzSymons. Rickard McGibbon. Teig Roe O'Mayle. Rickard Oge McTomyne. Shane McGibbone. Richard Barrett. William Garvey of the Leyhing. Egorum Edmondi delone.[1] John Browne."

Marginal Notes.

Marginal notes on third page:—

Forasmuch as there is a remain of 21 quarters of land to be bestowed by way of freedom upon such Gentlemen of the County of Mayo as were not remembered in the Indenture of the late Composition, taken betwixt Her Majesty and the Lords, Gentlemen, and freeholders of the said County, It is condescended, concluded, and agreed that Maurice M'Enabb of the Togher in the Barony of Kilmaine shall have, hold, possess, and enjoy [26] quarters of the aforesaid remain as a demesne to his said town of the Togher, freely exonerated and discharged of and from this Composition, willing and commanding on the Sheriff of the County of Mayo, and all other Her Majesty's receivers of her Composition rent for the time being, to allow the same unto him accordingly.—Given at Bellalaghen the 15 September 1585. Richard Bingham. N. White. Thomas Dillon. Robert Fowle. Charles Calthorpe. Gerrot Commerford. Francis Barkley.

Forasmuch . . . (as above) . . . that Thomas Keoghe of Bellanclowy in the Barony of Kilmaine shall have . . . (as above) . . . 3 quarters of the aforesaid remain as a demesne to his said town of Bellanclowy [27] freely . . . (as above) . . . the 15 September 1585.

Richard Bingham. N. White. Thomas Dillon. Charles Calthorpe. John Mervine.

Marginal notes on fourth page:—

By the Chief Commissioner and Council of Connaught and Thomond.

Forasmuch as we have granted unto Robert Oge Barrett of Ballemeanagh within the Barony of Tirawley in the County of Mayo, Gentleman, the number of three quarters of land next adjoining to his said town of Ballymeanagh free and exonerated from the last Composition,

These are therefore to will and require you to permit him to enjoy the same

[1] Egorum Edmondi delone. The first and third of these words have been mistaken by the copyist. The "um" and "delone" are but guesses.

accordingly without any molest or interruption, for the doing of which this shall be your warrant.

Given at Roscommon the 30 April 1587.

intending that the said Robert Oge and his heirs shall enjoy the benefit of this freedom.

Richard Bingham.

Sheriff of the County of Mayo and on the Collectors of that County require you to allow and perform the effect of this warrant for the freedom of three quarters of the freedom above named.

Given at Galway 25 October 1587.

To the Collectors or Receivers of Her Majesty's Composition rents of the Barony of Tirawley for the time being and to allow Her Majesty's officers ministers and loving subjects within the said Barony whom this is.

Marginal note on fifth page:—

Forasmuch as there is a remain of quarters . . . (as in first note) . . . agreed that Millye Mac Evyllie of the Kinturk in the Barony of Carra shall have . . . (as before) . . . three quarters . . . (as before) . . . accordingly.

Given at Donamona the 19th April 1586.

Richard Bingham. John Browne.

Exd. per Richard Lenham.

NOTES.

[1] Moyler and Tibbot Reagh being sons of Walter Fada, this castle should be near Ballycarra and Boherfayne, now Burnafaunia, and is likely to be a name for Gweeshadan Castle. [2] Now called Old Castle. [3] Now Doonmacreena. [4] Probably near Carrowcally, see p. 348. [5] Carrickaneady in Burrisool is meant. [6] Doolough in Erris, but the castle has disappeared. [7] Castlanenlaghcarowe in Inquisition. [8] Ballycranan seems to have been within the parish of Balla. [9] Otherwise Kilcolla, now Brownehall. [10] Clanghychin in Inquisition. [11] Town of the Cloons, comprising Cloonliffen, Cloonenagh, Cloonabilla in Cuslough demesne. [12] Newport. [13] Baile O'Gobhaind in Hist. et Gen.? [14] Emlybeg near Binghamstown. [15] Glenco, east of Bangor. [16] Bofeenaun. [17] Now corrupted to Glenhest. [18] Mountain country north of Castlebar. [19] Lavally in Tavase in Inquisitions = Baile an tSabhais, see p. 287. Probably not far from Castlelucas and Ballynafad. Castlelucas may be Sauvages Castle. [20] A little north of Drum. [21] Kerowe Enny in Inquisition, probably the correct form, meaning Annagh quarter. [22] See p. 311 for these subdivisions. [23] MacDaibheog Buidhe. [24] Rahins near Castlebar or thereabouts. [25] At Castletown in Cong near Ballycurrin. [26] Illegible figures. [27] A mistake for Bellanaloob, then owned by Thomas Keoghe Bourke.

VII.

THE INDENTURE OF COMPOSITION FOR IAR CONNAUGHT.

The Indenture bears date the 2nd September 1585. The barony of Ross is included as being within the lordship of O'Flaherty. Of the parties thereto only Sir Morogh ne Doe O'Flaherty and MacThomas are concerned with this

part of Mayo. Only a summary of the parts relating to Ross is given, as it is in the same form as that for Mayo.

In the barony of Ross there are nine towns consisting of 62 quarters of land, that is to say, in Ballyross, 4 qrs.; in Ballynonagh, 18 qrs., gotten by the O'Flahertys from some of the Bourkes, as is said, for an Eric; in Ballykilbride, 4 qrs.; in Ballyglantrague, 4 qrs.; in Ballynacloghbrack, 4 qrs.; in Ballydoolough, 4 qrs.; in Dooghta, 2 qrs., which is said to be the Joyce lands, bearing Seignory as well to O'Flaherty as to MacThomas; in Tomsnawe, 2 qrs.; in Dooros, 1 qr.; in Teernakill, 1 qr.; in the Carrick, 1 qr.; in Tumneenaun, 1 qr.; in Breenaun, 1 qr.; in Mounterowen and Culliagh, 1 qr.; in Glenglosh, 4 qrs.; in Carrae, 1 qr.; in Fowaghe, 1 qr.; in Slieve Partry, 4 qrs.; in Ballybwyan, 4 qrs.—which in the whole within that barony cometh to the aforesaid number of 62 qrs.

. . . . . .

Sir M. O'Flaherty, besides his other castles elsewhere, got the castle of Ballynonagh and 4 quarters free, with goods of felons, to be held of the manor of Arkin by the service of the 20th part of a knight's fee.

. . . . . .

MacThomas was given 1 quarter of land in Dooroy, free of the composition and of all demands of Sir Morogh, to be held of the manner of Arkin by the 40th part of a knight's fee. All rents, duties, and customs claimed as due by the title of MacThomas were to be extinguished after his death.

The remaining 57 quarters of land were charged with 5s. a quarter, payable to Sir M. in discharge of all his claims on the freeholders, to be held of him by the 40th part of a knight's fee as of his manor of Ballynonagh, with suit to his Court Baron and Leet there. And he was given goods of felons therein.

All the denominations of lands survive in some form except Tomsnawe, Carrae, and Ballybwyan. Fowaghe seems to survive in Knocknafaughy and the Fooey River.

VIII.

BARRETT INQUISITIONS.

CALENDAR OF PATENT ROLLS, 1–16 JAMES I., P. 118, No. XLVIII.

An Inquisition taken at Mayo on the 29th July 1607 found that Pierce Barrett of Ballysakeery was seized in fee of the following estate within the Co. of Mayo.

The town and castle of Ballysakeery with 6 qrs. of land thereto belonging, viz.: Dromonmore, 1 qr.; Clonemicstirricke and Drommore, 1 qr.; Boylkilcoman and Cartronagh, 1 qr.; Currowy, 1 qr.; Knockmorroe and Lec Carrowkehile, 1 qr.; and Rusheens and Mulloghnageppaghe, 1 qr.; 4 qrs. in Kilroe called Knockminemoyne, Cashel, Meane, and Meelick; the half town of Rathroeen[1] containing 2 qrs.; Derreens,[1] 1 qr.; Quygeaghe,[2] ½ qr.;

Crosspatrick, 1 qr.; Slightshane, 1 qr.; Killeen, 1 qr.; Ballanatona, ½ qr.; Killybrone,[2] ½ qr., whereof 1 cartron is mortgaged with others; Strafarne, 1 qr.; Fyaghe, ½ qr., also mortgaged; the castle and bawn of Farragh,[1] with Shian qr., and Lisglaman 1 qr.; the half town of Loughdalla,[1] containing 2 qrs.; two trines of the half town of Rathoma,[1] which are mortgaged; Bartry,[2] 1 qr.; Carn, 1 qr., mortgaged; Attyharte, 1 qr., mortgaged; Ranary, 1 qr.—his ancestors were seized of the lands, etc., following, now in the possession of others, but by what right the jury know not, viz.: Killeny, ½ qr.; Glanaghy, ½ qr.; the castle and town of Treanagh,[3] of the 6th part whereof he was seized; Kildavaroge,[4] ½ qr.; the half town, castle, and bawn of Inishcoe, which were possessed by the sons of John M'Oliverus Bourke, within the jury's memory; Kyllyrhan, 2 qrs.; also possessed by the said Bourkes—said Peirse is now seized in fee of the castle and town of Ballycashel, containing 4 qrs. called Cashel, Carrownisky, Carrowhibbock, and Drommagara; Annaghbeg, ½ qr.; Ballybeg,[5] 1 qr.; Atticloghy,[5] 1 qr.; Killnecabry, 1 qr.; Rooghan,[5] 1 qr.; Kincon,[6] ½ qr.—his ancestors were seized of Kyllencroaghe 1 cartron, now possessed by others; the castle and cartron of Portnahally, of which half is in his possession, and half in Oliver Bourke FitzEdmond's—his ancestors were seized of the quarter of Carrowcor[7] and the quarter of Moyny,[7] both now mortgaged; the quarter of Carrowneden[7] and the quarter of Namaull[18]—said Peirse ought to have the half of the castle of Inver (or Inveran), and the bawn with the haven, and a quarter of land, now possessed by Edmond Oge Barrett—and by hereditary right do belong to him, now possessed by the said Edmond, Termoncarragh and Corroghery, 1½ qr.; Immellevegger,[8] 1 qr.; and Nakill,[9] ½ qr.—his ancestors were seized of Inishkea ½ qr., and have the haven thereof, now possessed by Richard, Earl of Clanricard—Benet Barrett his father, and his ancestors, who were called MacPadins, had divers chief rents out of divers lands, viz.: out of Ballynekeyll, 4 qrs.; Fara, Ballyknockmore, Ballelesnagavan, Ballyhanrick,[10] Balliphilip, Ballikillekeran, Ballenecorbally, Ballenemoynaghe, Kylcon, and Brechoy, Ballenemaney, Aghaleague,[11] town of Crossmolina Abbey and town of Cassly, out of each of these a cow, 16 pecks of wheat, 16 measures of meal called barrens, with a proportion of butter, all valued at 21s. each—out of Glanevin,[4] Ballykrevy,[4] and out of the half town of Moylaw,[4] £1, 11s.; out of Crowaghbeg, Kyllenee qr., Beltra,[11] Ballynaleck,[11] Treynagh, Carbad,[12] Steelagh,[13] and Dyrre, 5s. 3d. each—out of 5 half quarters in Ross 13s.—out of Balloughdalla,[1] Rathoma,[1] and Treanagh,[3] 3 half towns, 10s. 6d. each—12 measures or barrens, with herbs commonly called sowle, which they formerly willed according to the rate of 2s. 6d. out of every quarter of land, viz.: out of East Bac, Ballenecrery, West Bac, Ballymacredmond,[14] Curranaghe, Clogaghe, Reaghe, Quigeaghe, and Cowlevyle, 2s. 6d. each—out of the half towns of Adaghe [Ardagh?], Rathreagh, Kerreynan[15] and Mac Moyocke,[15] 5s. each—out of Crossmolina, 2 towns, £1—out of Killaghy[16] and Rendowgan, 2s. each—out of Ballysakery, one town and a half, 15s.—out of the quarters of Carrowcar,[7] Carrowneden,[7] and Morgenny, 3s. 6d. each—out of Ballo quarter, 7s.—out of Carrownaghe-Trene, 3 qrs., 10s. 6d.—out of the half towns of Mahowne and Ballyloughbrone,[17] 10s. 6d. each—out of Kildavaroge, ½ qr., 1s. 3d.—and the ancestors of the said Perce Barrett used to have within the said territory divers other dues, viz. cess, spending,

cutting, and rising out, etc. Also Courts leet and baron; and in right of their captainship, had and levied all waifs, strays, felons' and attainted persons' goods and chattels, fines for blood and all other casualties and amerciaments.

Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery, Ireland, Morrin, Vol. II. p. 217.

Edmond Barrett and his son Edmond having petitioned to be allowed to surrender their lands in Erris and Tirawley and to take them back by grant, the following inquisition, taken at Cloonagashel on the 9th March 1594, found—

That the lands following are the lawful inheritance of Edmond Barrett senior descended to him from his ancestors or purchased by him: namely, Inver, Tiraun, Leam, Corraghrie, Toescart, Inishkea, Ballencarn, Ballenglancoe, Dookeeghaun, Ballycroy, Ballymunnelly, Dowkreghan, Doohooma; the half quarter of the Carowleccan, Kilbride, Rathlackan, in the barony of Tirawley, late in the possession of Slight Shad. The inhabitants of the barony of Erris acknowledge the absolute and sole interest of all Erris to be his lawful inheritance, except Redmond Barrett of Tiraun, who claims the castle of Tiraun and a quarter of land thereto belonging, a cartron of Shanaghy, and the interest which John Browne of the Neale had to some parcels in Erris; of the nature or validity of those interests the jurors were uninformed, but they found, by ancient testimony and witnesses of great credit, that the whole barony of Erris was, and is, the lawful inheritance of Edmond Barrett, which was sufficiently witnessed, with great credit, a long time before the coming of Browne into Mayo. Ulick Bourke M'Moyler and Shane Bourke, of Erris, usurped upon part of Erris and, being traitors, were slain in open rebellion by her Majesty's forces.

These documents show the greatest claims of MacWattin, and that the principal estate was about Ballysakeery and Killala. The chiefry was scattered all over Tirawley, whether held by members of his family or by freeholders, but did not include Glen Nephin and Glenhest.

The denomination Boylkilcoman explains the description "William Fionn of Kilcommon."

MacWattin had not chieftain rights in Erris, but hereditary right in an estate therein.

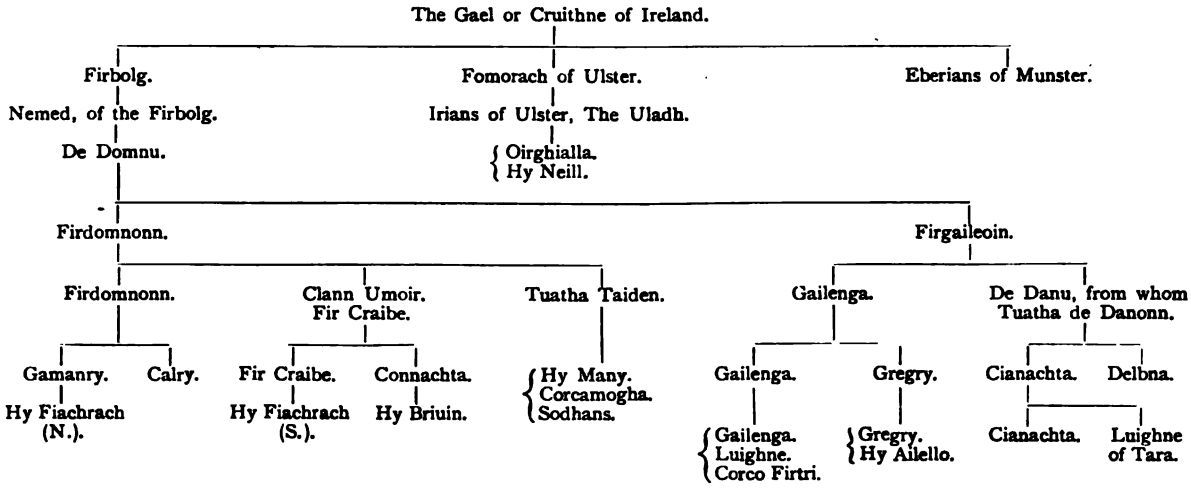
Notes.

[1] In Ballysakeery. [2] In Killala. [3] In SE. part of Kilfian. [4] In Crossmolina. [5] In Rathreagh. [6] In Kilfian. [7] In Kilbride. [8] Emlagh in Kilmore Erris. [9] Nakil or Surgeview near Fallmore. [10] In Kilbelfad. [11] In Lackan. [12] In Templemurry. [13] In Kilcummin. [14] In Addergoole. [15] Castlehill and Ballymoyock in Addergoole. [16] Carn townland in Lackan. [17] Near Cloonagh Lake in Ardagh. [18] In Doonfeeny.

IX.

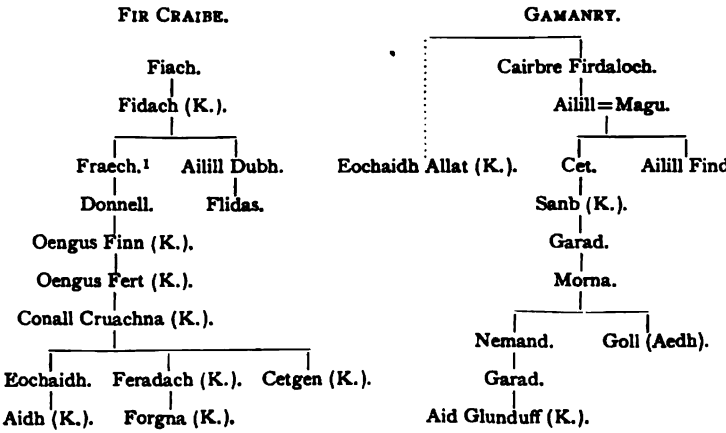
Table I.

REVISED VIEW OF EARLY TRIBAL RELATIONS.

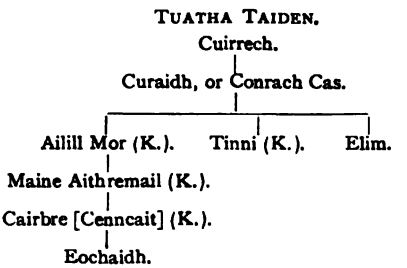


NOTES.—De Danu might be entered below Firgaileoin, as De Domnu below Nemed. The whole group are Tuatha De Danonn. The Fir Craibe come through, or out of, the Clann Umoir.

Table II.—List of Domnonian Kings of Connaught with Pedigrees.



[1] I am not sure whether Fraech or his brother was father of Donnell.



O'Flaherty makes Cairbre contemporary with Cet's son Sanb. Latinizes Conrach as "Conrius": "Tinneus filius Conrii" ("Ogygia," p. 269).

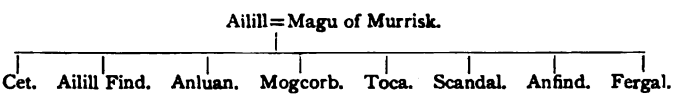


Table III.—Succession of Kings of Connaught, chiefly from O'Flaherty's "Ogygia" and Keating's History, but supplemented from other Sources.

1. Eochy Allat (G.).
2. Tinni (T.).
3. Ailill Mor (T.).
4. Maine Aithremail (T.).
5. Cairbre.
6. Sanb (G.).
7. Eochy (T.).
8. Oengus Finn (F.).
9. Oengus Fert (F.).
10. Conall Cruachna (F.).
11. Feradach (F.).
12. Forgna (F.).
13. Cetgen (F.).
14. Aid, son of Eochy (F.).
15. Nia Mor, of Corco Firtri (M.).
16. Lugad, of Corco Firtri (M.).
17. Aid, son of Garad (G.).
18. Condeus (M.).
19. Muredach Tirech (M.).
20. Eochy Moyvane (M.).

F=of Fir Craibe, G=of Gamanry, M=Milesian, T=of Tuatha Taiden.

Conrach Cas, father of Tinni and Ailill Mor, is mentioned as King of Connaught contemporary with Conghal Clairinghneach; Ailill, son of Fiach, is called "son of King of Connaught" (Ir. Texts Society, vol. v., "Martial Exploits of Conghal Clairinghneach," pp. 2, 27).

TABLE IV.

THE IRISH GENEALOGICAL SYSTEM.

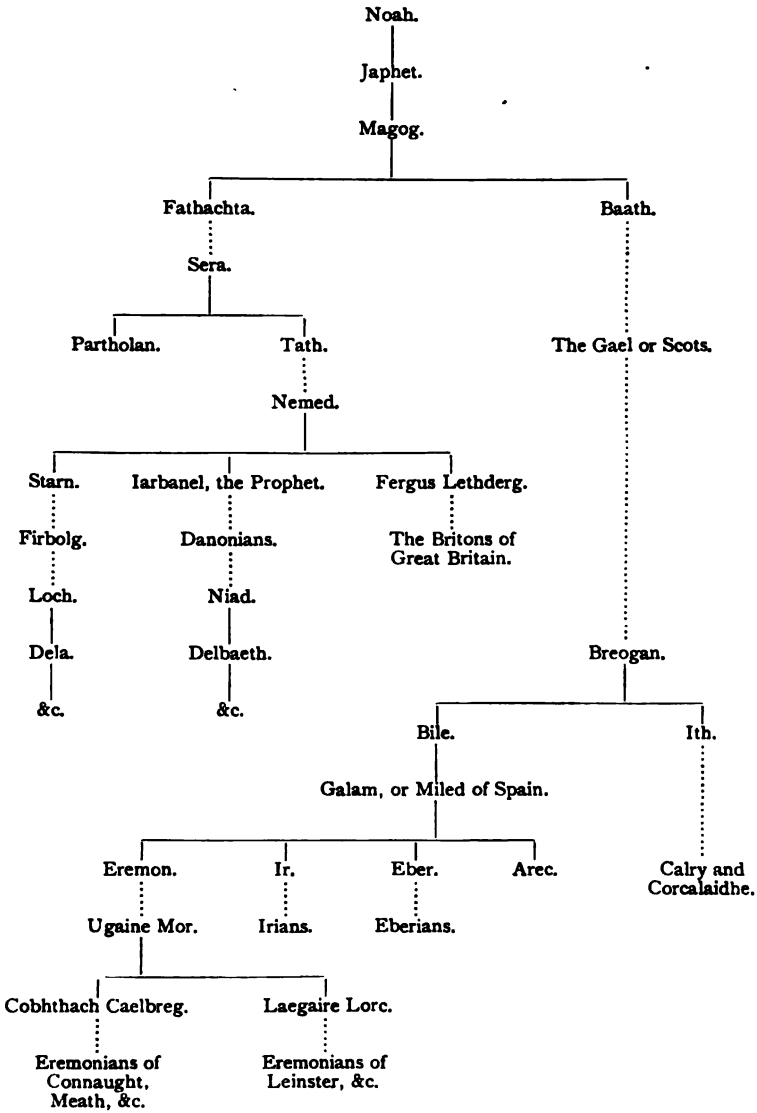
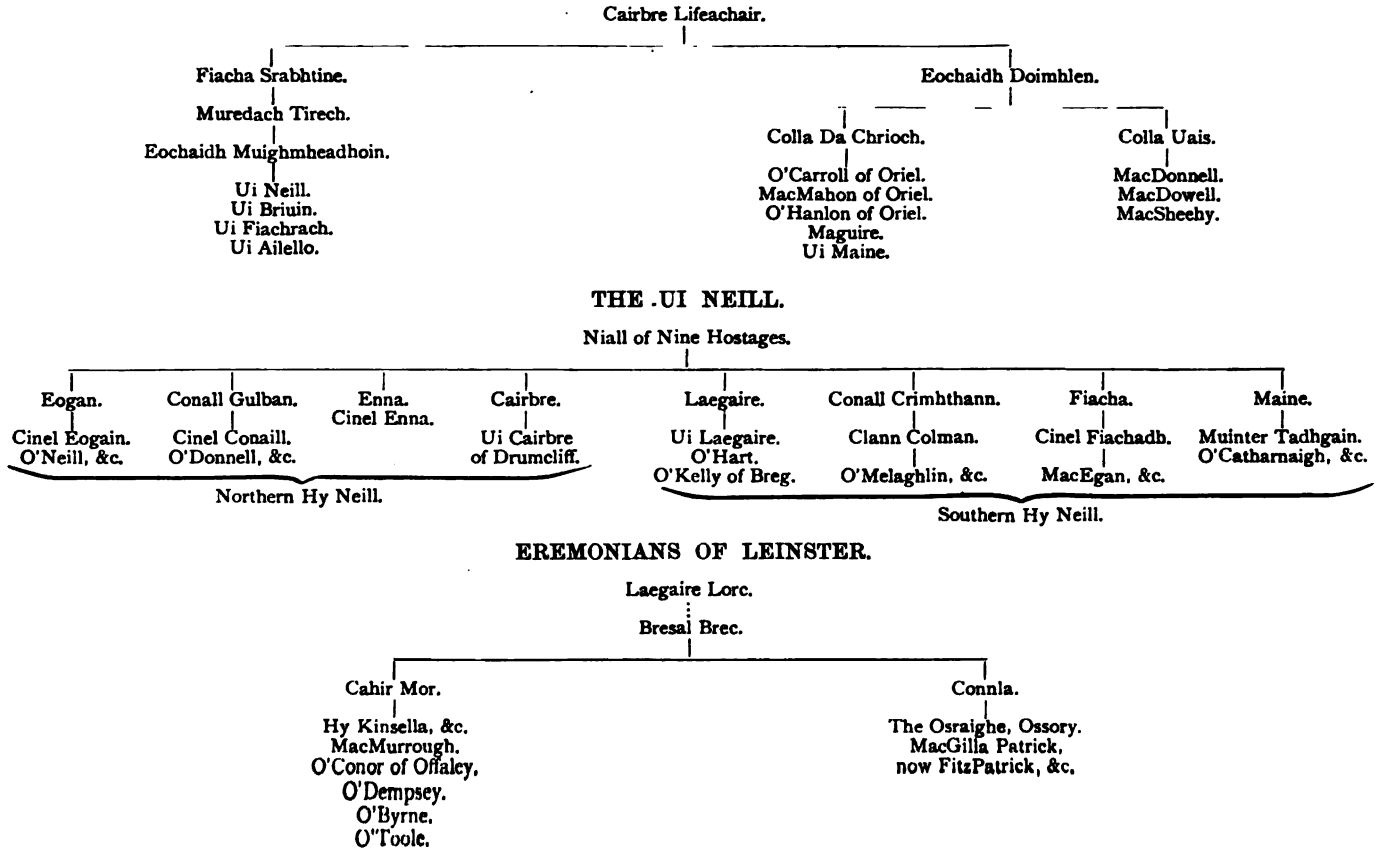
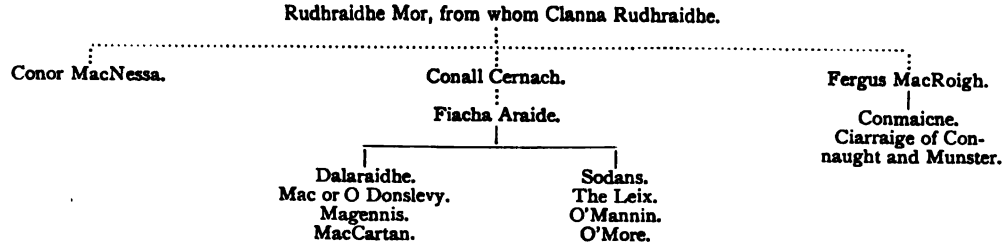


TABLE V.

RELATIONSHIP OF PRINCIPAL MILESIAN CLANS.



THE IRIANS.



THE EBERIANS.

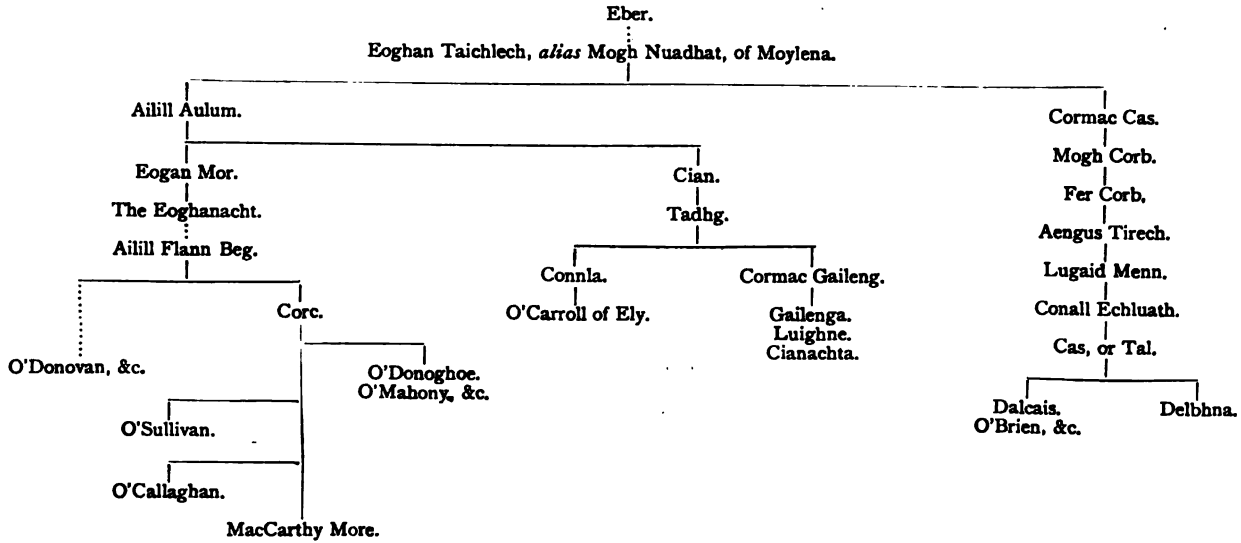


TABLE VI.

RELATIONS OF HY FIACHRACH CLANS, NORTH AND SOUTH.

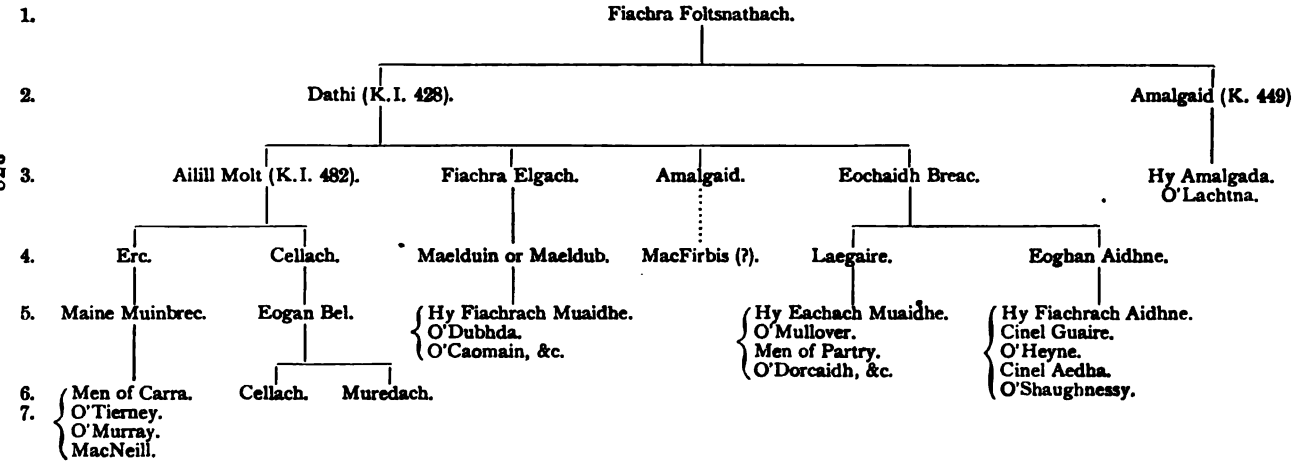
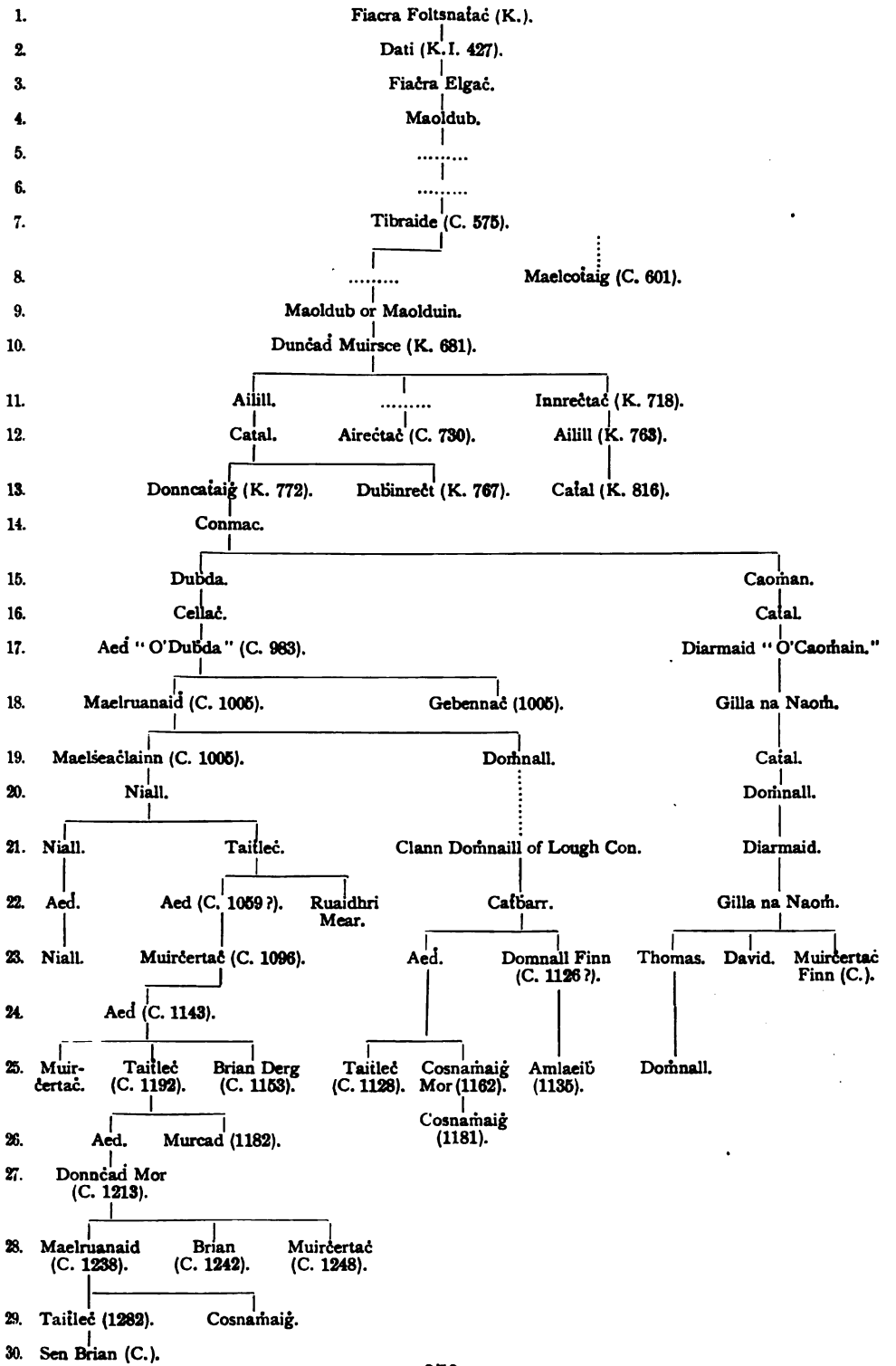


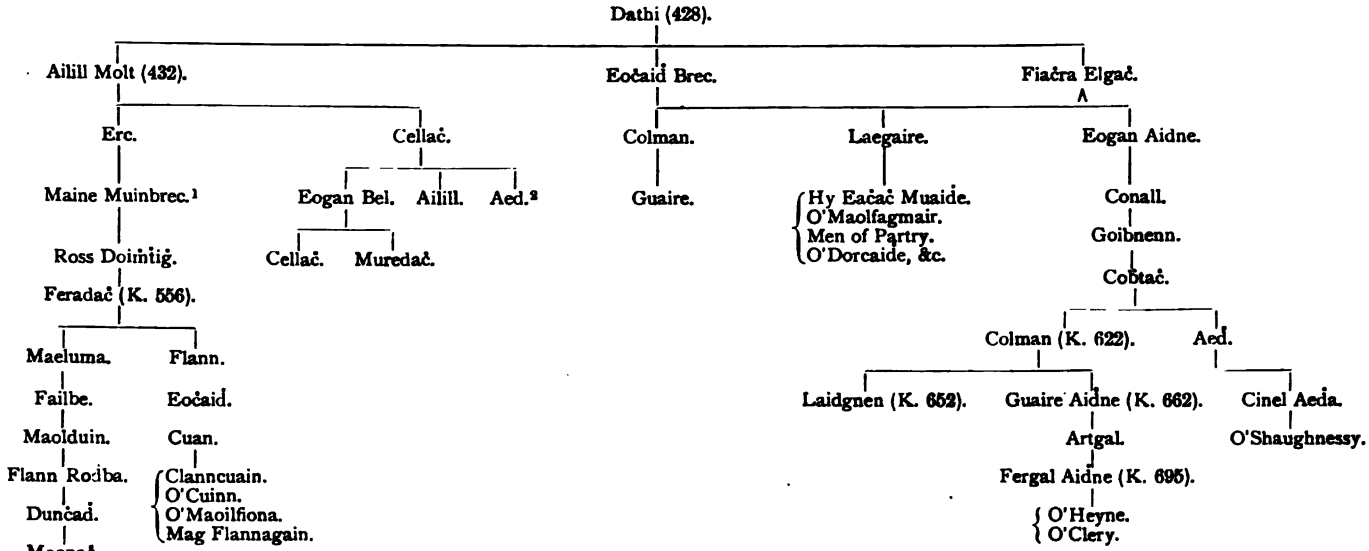
TABLE VII.—THE RACE OF DATHI.

HY FIACHRACH MUAIDHE.



THE RACE OF DATHI (*continued*).

MEN OF CARRA, OF PARTRY, AND HY FIACHRACH AIDHNE.



[1] This Maine should be the MacErca who fell in the battle of Tortan. Tigernach adds that the men of Carra come from him. According to A.U. and A.T. this battle and that of Sligo were in same year.

[2] MacFirbis names Aedh and Crunmael as kings of Connaught who dwelt in Carra. They must have been of race of Ailill Molt. Aedh Fortamhail, brother of Eoghan Bel, may be one, but it is not recorded that he was King of Connaught.

Table VIII.

CLANS OF HY BRIUIN OF CONNAUGHT.

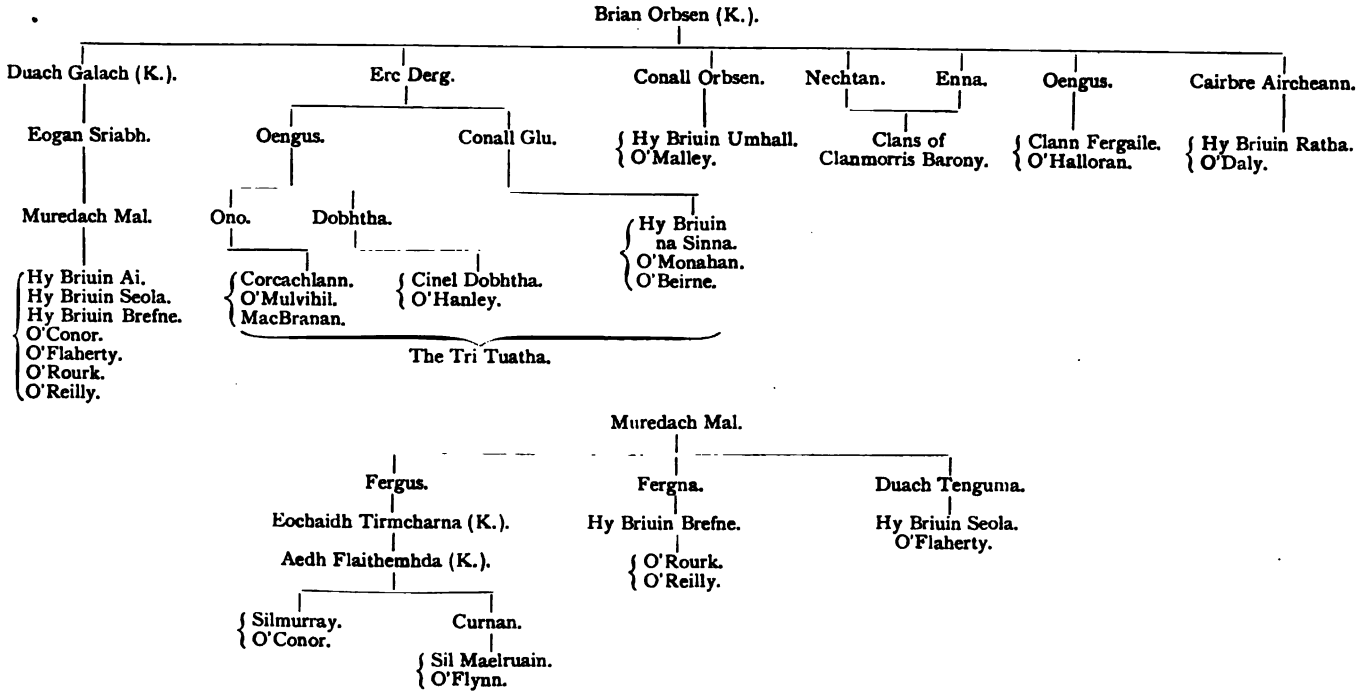


Table IX.

THE HY BRIUIN AI.

Muredach Mal.

- Fergus.
  - Eocaid Tirmcarna (K., deposed 492).
    - Aed (K. 576).
      - Uada (K. 602).
        - Raġallać (K. 646).
          - Fergus.
            - Mureďać Mulletan (K. 701).
              - Inrečtać (722).
              - Cathal (K. 734).
                - Artgal (K. 782).
                - From Catal the Clann Cathail.
              - Murgil.
              - Muredac (731).
              - Conmac.
                - Clann Conmaig and Murćaďa.
              - Aed Balb (K. 741).
              - Tomaltać (769).
              - Murgis (K. 814).
                - Tadg.
                - Caťal (K. 886).
                - Diarmaid.
                - Conor (K. 879).
                - Catal (K. 923).
                - Aed (K. 887).
                - Tadg (K. 895).
                - Domnall (K. 924).
                - Tadg "of Three Towers" (K. 954).
                - Conor (K. 971).
                - Clann Taidhg O'Mulloy.
                - Cathal (K. 1010).
                - Tadg "of the White Horse" (K. 1030).
                - Aed (1067).
                - Maelruanaid (1077).
                - Clann Maelruanaid.
                - Ruaidhri (K. 1092, d. 1118).
                - Toirdelbac Mor (K., K.I. 1156).
                - Tadg (K. 1097).
                - Domnall (K., dep. 1106, d. 1118).
  - Cať al.
    - Foġartać.
      - Maelcotaig (K. 584).
      - Aid (591).
      - Curnan.
        - Silmaelruain, O'Flynn.
      - Cellach (704).
        - Domnall (K. 727).
        - Fergus (K. 755).
        - Flathrui (K. 778).

TABLE X.

THE SILMURRAY CLANS.

1. Muredhach Mullethan (701).
2. Inrechtach (722). Cathal, from him Clann Cathail and Clann Conor.
3. Murgil. Conmach, from him Clann Conmhaigh and Clann Murchadha.
4. Tomaltach.
5. Murgis (814). Diarmaid Finn (832), from him Clann Uadach and Ui Diarmada.
6. Tadhg. Diarmaid, from him Clann Tomaltaigh and Muinter Roduibh.
7. Conor.
8. Cathal.
9. Tadhg "of Three Towers" (954).
10. Conor (971). A son, from him Clann Taidhg.
11. Cathal (1010).
12. Tadhg "of the White Horse" (1030).
13. Aedh (1067). Maelruanaidh (1077), from him Clann Maelruanaidh.
14. Ruaidhri "of the Yellow Hound" (1118).
15. Torlogh Mor (1156).

CLANS AND CHIEFS' NAMES.

Clann Cathail—O'Flannagain.
,, Conchubhair—O'Maolbrenainn.
,, Conmhaigh—O'Finachta.
,, Murchadha—O'Finachta.
,, Uadach—O'Fallamhain.
Ui Diarmada—O'Concennain.

Clann Tomaltaigh—MacMurchadha.
Muinter Roduibh—O'Roduibh, afterwards called Mag Oirechtaigh.
Clann Taidhg—O'Maolmhuaidh.
,, Maolruanaidh—MacDiarmata.

The following clans were of the Silmurray, but I do not know their descent, and in some cases only chief's name and not the tribe name:—

Clann Faghartaigh—O'Cathalain.
,, Murthuile—O'Maonaigh.
,, (name unknown)—O'Murray.
,, ,, O'Cathail.
,, ,, O'Taidhg.

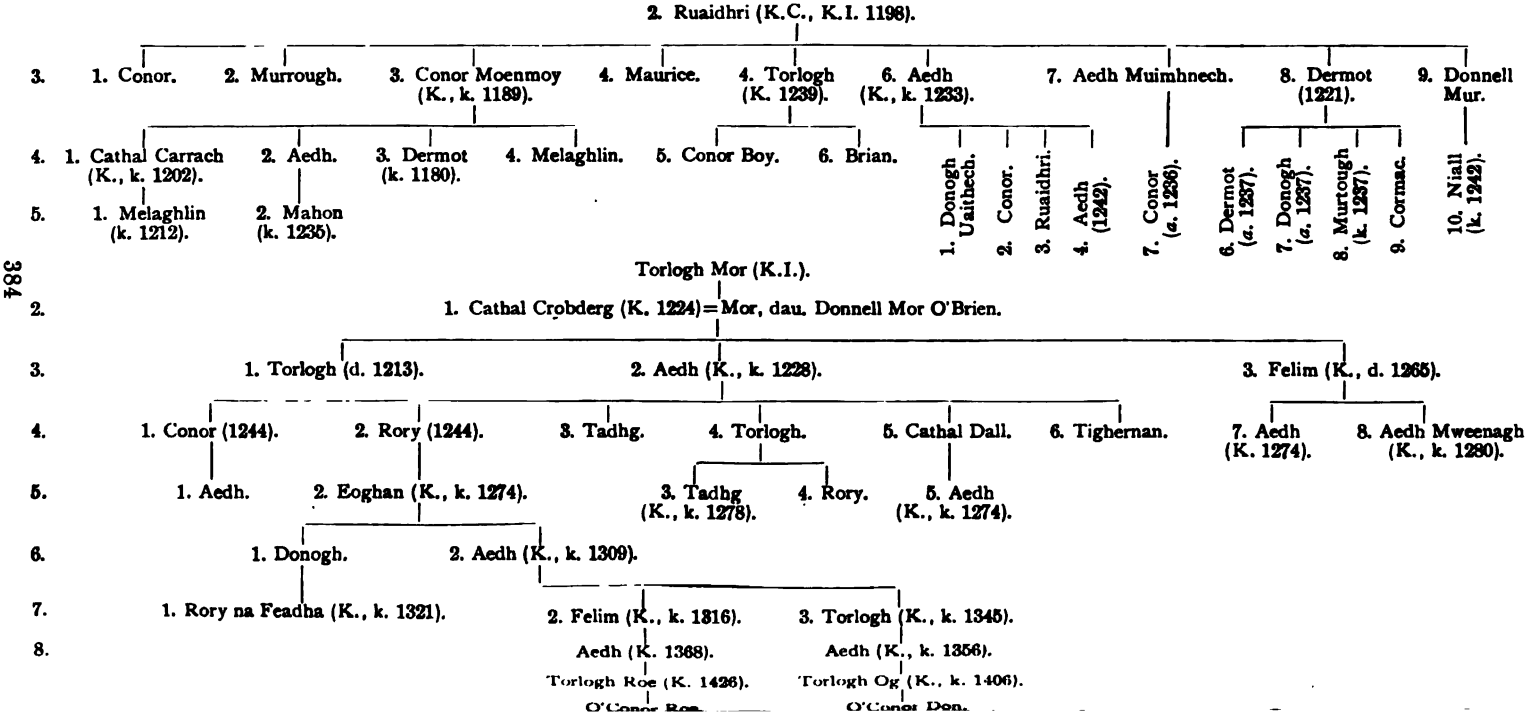
O'Flanagain had as sub-chiefs O'Maolmordha, O'Cartaigh, O'Mughroin.

From MacDermot came MacDermot Gall and MacDermot Roe in Artech and Tir Tuathail, and the two MacDonoghs of Corran and Tirerrill.

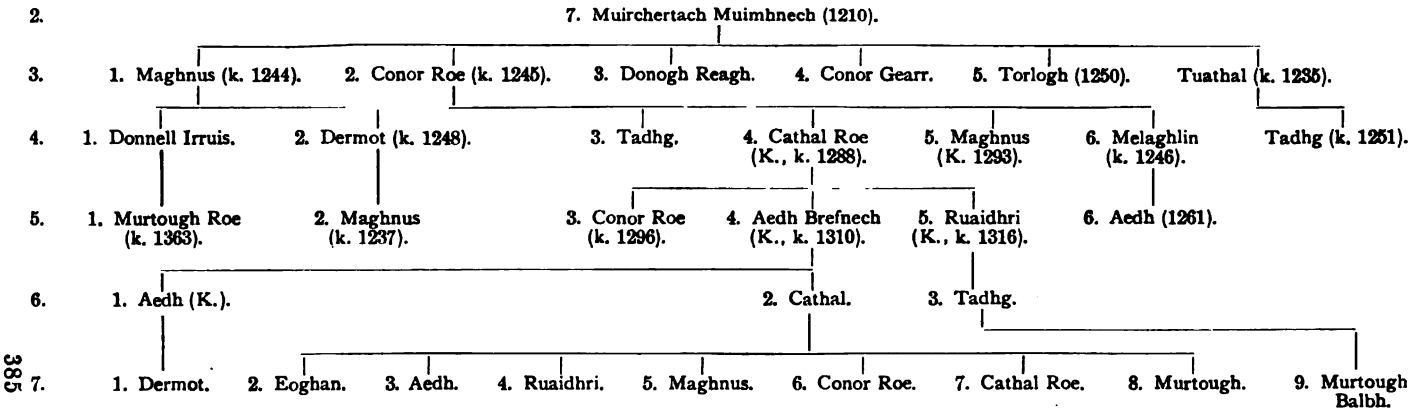
Table XI.

GENEALOGY OF TOIRDELBHACH MOR O'CONCHOBHAIR (K.C., K.I. 1156).

His sons were: 1. Conor (k. 1144); 2. Ruaidhri (K.C., K.I. 1198); 3. Donnell Midheach, Tanist (1176); 4. Brian Luighnech (k. 1181); 5. Maghnus (k. 1181); 6. Cathal Crobhderg (K.C. 1224); 7. Muirchertach Muimhnech, Tanist (1210); 8. Maelisa (1223); 9. Cathal Migaran; 10. Aedh Dall; 11. Uran (1190); 12. Tadhg Aluinn; 13. Aedh; 14. Brian Brefnech; 15. Lochlann; 16. Donogh; 17. Melaghlin; 18. Tadhg Fidhnacha; 19. Conor; 20. Dermot; 21. Tadhg Dairen; 22. Murchadh Finn; 23. Maurice.



CLANN MUIRCHEARTAIGH MUIMHNAIGH.



OTHER DESCENDANTS OF TORLOGH MOR O'CONOR'S SONS.

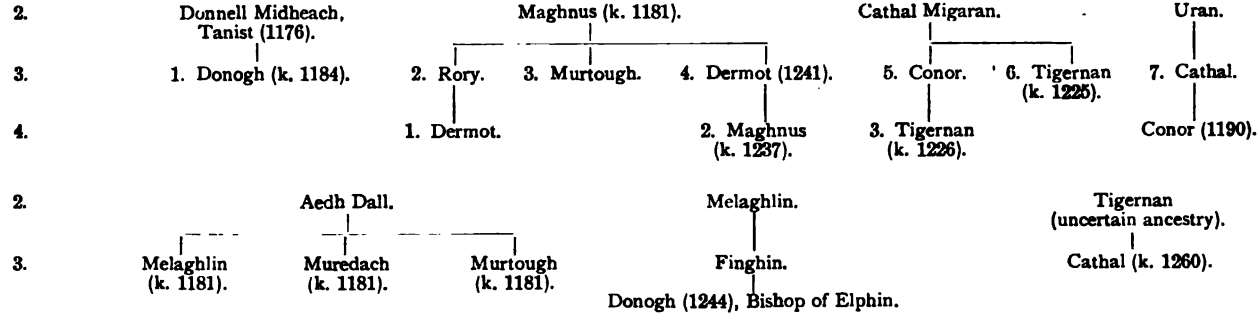
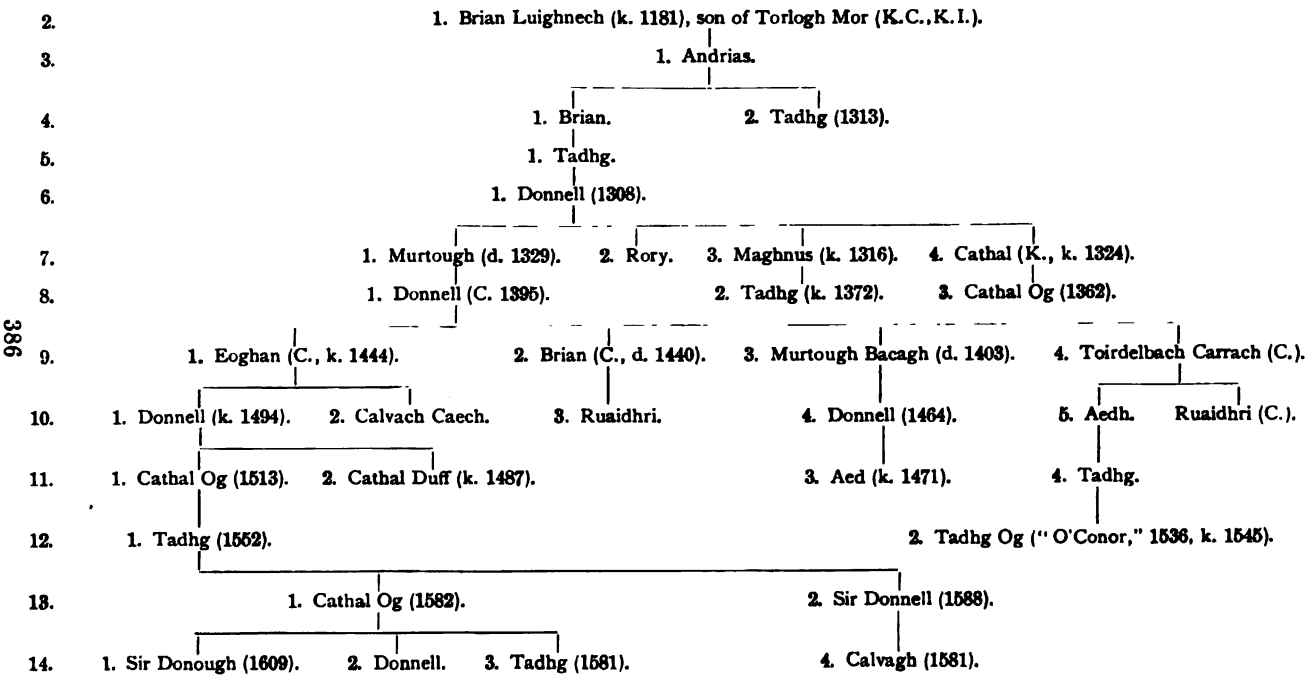


TABLE XI. (*continued*).

GENEALOGY OF CLANN ANDRIAS, FAMILY OF O'CONOR SLIGO.



The sons of (8, 1) Donnell formed four principal families in Co. Sligo—(1) Sliocht Muircheartaigh, settled at Dunally; (2) Sliocht Briain, at Grange of Coolerra; (3) Sliocht Eoghain, at Castletown of Bradcullen and Grange of Lower Carbury; (4) Sliocht Toirdelbhaigh Carraigh, at Askelly.—O'Rorke, "Hist. Sligo." The Dunally where O'Donnell lodged in 1602 was at Lecarrowerin in Coolerra.

Table XII.—SUCCESSION OF KINGS OF CONNAUGHT OF RACE OF EOCHAIDH MUIGHMHEADHOIN.

Those are entered for whom there is good authority in annals, though all annals do not name all. The last date is that of close of reign, by death usually. The annalists counted the year to him who reigned on New Year's Day. Date of beginning of reign is omitted only when quite uncertain. F. prefixed denotes of Hy Fiachrach North, A. of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne. O'R. and O'F. denote an O'Rourk or an O'Flaherty. Those not so marked are of Hy Briuin Ai, from Brian Orbsen downwards. The dates generally follow the Annals of Ulster, especially after 662.

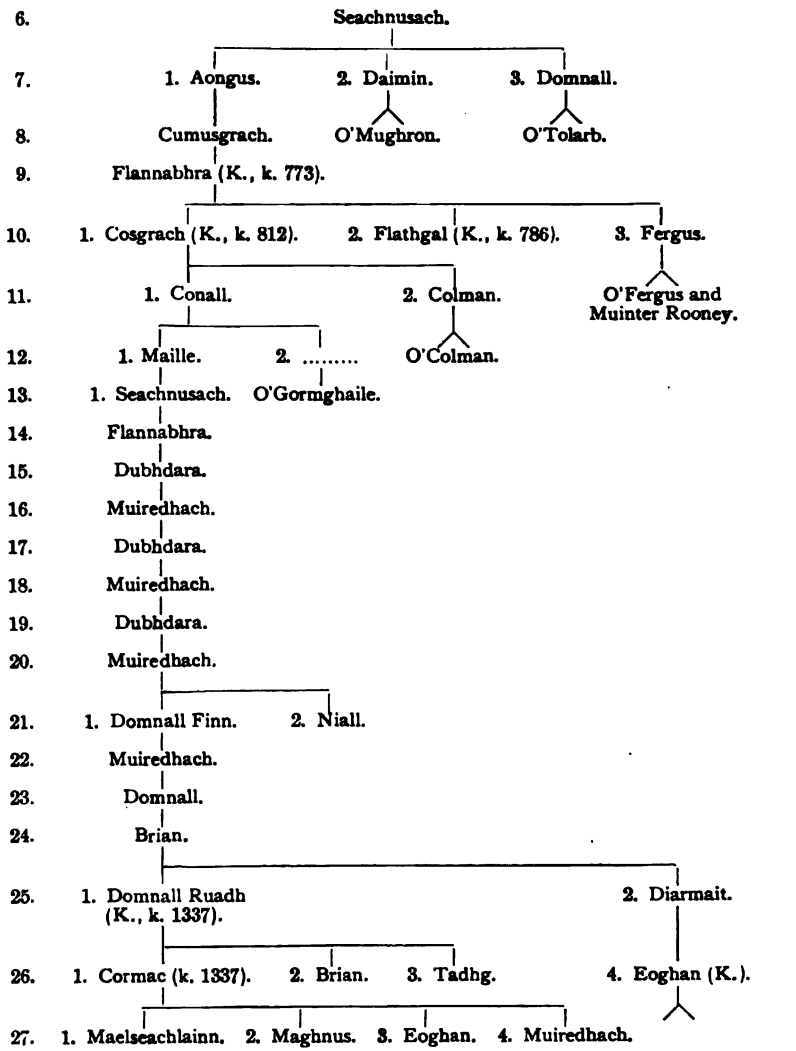
		Muredach Tirech	330–357	Their connection with Connaught is very vague.
		Eochy Moyvane	357–365	
1.		Brian Orbsen	366–388	These dates are quite uncertain.
2.	F.	Fiachra	388–400	
3.	F.	Dathi	401–407	Became K.I.
4.		Duach Galach	408–427	
5.	F.	Amalgaid	428–449	
6.	F.	Ailill Molt	450–463	Became K.I.
7.		Eoghan Sriabh (?)	464–487	
8.		Eochy Tirmcharna	488–492	Deposed.
9.		Duach Tengumha	493–499	
10.	F.	Eoghan Bel	500–537	Erc, son of Ailill Molt, probably came in about this time.
11.	F.	Ailill Inbanna	538–544	
12.	F.	Feradach	545–556	
13.		Aedh	557–576	
14.		Maelcothaigh	577–583	
15.		Aedh	584–590	
16.		Uada	–602	
17.	A.	Colman	603–622	
18.		Ragallach	623–646	
19.	A.	Laidhgnen	647–652	
20.	A.	Guaire Aidhne	653–662	
21.		Cennfaelaidh	663–681	
22.	F.	Dunchadh Muirsce	(681)–682	
23.	A.	Fergal Aidhne	683–695	
24.		Muredach Mullethan	695–701	
25.		Cellach	702–704	
26.	F.	Indrechtach	705–706	
27.		Indrechtach	707–722	
28.		Domhnall	722–727	
29.		Cathal	728–734	
30.		Aedh Balbh	735–741	
31.		Fergus	742–755	
32.	F.	Ailill Medhraighe	756–763	
33.	F.	Dubhinnrecht	764–767	
34.	F.	Donncathaigh	768–772	
35.	A. (?)	Flathrui	773–778	Called of Aidhne by MacFirbis, but I think he was of Hy B.
36.		Artgal	779–782	Resigned. Son of No. 29.
37.		Tipraite	783–785	Son of Tadhg, whom I cannot identify. O'Conor calls him son of Muirgis.
38.		Muirgis	786–814	
39.		Dermot	815–832	Died an anchorite in 844.
40.		Finsnechta	833–	
41.		Cathal	–836	
42.		Murchadh	837–839	Son of Aedh. Not identified.
43.		Fergus	840–842	Son of Fothagh. Not identified.
44.		Conor	843–879	
45.		Aedh	880–887	
46.		Tadhg	888–895	
47.		Cathal	896–923	
48.		Tadhg	924–954	
49.	O'R.	Fergal	955–966	
50.		Conor	967–973	
51.		Cathal	974–1008	
52.	O'R.	Aedh	1009–1015	
53.		Tadhg	1016–1030	
54.		Aedh	1031–1067	
55.	O'R.	Aedh	1068–1087	
56.		Ruaidhri	1088–1092	
57.	O'F.	Flaherty	1092–1092	
58.		Tadhg	1093–1097	
59.	O'R.	Domhnall	1098–1102	
60.		Domhnall	1103–1106	
61.		Torlogh Mor	1107–1156	
62.		Ruaidhri	1157–1186	
63.		Conor Moenmoy	1186–1189	
64.		Cathal Carrach	1189–1201	
65.		Cathal Crovderg	1201–1224	
66.		Aedh	1224–1228	
67.		Aedh	1228–1233	
68.		Felim	1233–1265	

TABLE XIII.

THE UI BRIUIN OF UMALL

ACCORDING TO MACFIRBIS'S GREAT BOOK OF GENEALOGIES.

(6) Seachnusach was son of (5) Eochaidh Sine, son of (4) Tuathal, son of (3) Airmedach, son of (2) Conall Oirisen, son of Brian Orbsen, from whom are the Ui Briuin of Connaught.



NOTE.—10 (2). Flathgal is added from Annals.

26. 4. Eoghan (K.).

27. 1. Diarmait. 2. Domnall (K.). 3. Conor. 4. Maine. 5. Brian. 6. Ruaidhri. 7. Maelseachlainn. 8. Donchadh. 9. Thomas. 10. Maghnus. 11. Aedh. 12. Tadhg Ballach.

28. 1. Cormac. 2. Diarmait. 3. Eoghan. 4. Dubhdara. 5. Tadhg. — Clann Taidhg Ballaigh.

26. 4. Eoghan (K.).

27. Domnall (K.).

28. 1. Cormac Cruind (k. 1384). 2. Eoghan. 3. Brian. 4. Cormac Buadhach. 5. Ruaibh.

26. 4. Eoghan (K.).

27. Conor.

28. 1. Dubhgall. 2. Muiredhach. 3. Tuathal. 4. Maelseachlainn (k. 1396).

A. Conor.

B. Domnall Donn.

C. 1. Muiredhach. 2. Brian. 3. Cathal. 4. Tadhg.

D. 1. Domnall. 2. Aedh. 3. Dermot. — Clann Briain. 4. Benedict.

E. 1. Ruaidhri. 2. Brian. 3. Dubhdara. 4. Tuathal. 5. Muiredhach, a priest.

F. 1. Aedh. Maelseachlainn. 2. Amhlaibh. — Clann Tuathail.

G. Clann Maelseachlainn. 1. Brian. 2. Dubhgall. 3. Muiredhach. 4. Aedh. 5. Taithleach.

1. Dermot. 2. Domnall. 3. Conor. 4. Thomas. 5. Nicol. 6. Maghnus, a monk.

NOTE.—This genealogy of Domnall Donn, son of Conor, is given next after the pedigree of Domnall Finn and Niall, and next before pedigree and genealogies of Domnall Ruadh and Diarmait. Conor should come a generation or more before Domnall Ruadh.

Table XIV.

CLAN DONNELL GALLOGLASS OF MAYO AND TIRERAGH, ACCORDING TO D. MACFIRBIS,

With Additions from the English Records.

These families of Mayo, excepting two, have a common descent from Feradhach Mor, son of Torlogh, son of Marcus, son of Aongus, son of John, son of Raghnall, son of Donnell, son of Aongus Og, son of Aongus Mor, son of Donnell (from whom Clann Donnell of the Isles takes its name), son of Raghnall, son of Somairle, Thane of Argyle in 1165. Donnell, son of Aongus Og, had a brother, John of Isla, from whom came the Earls of Antrim.

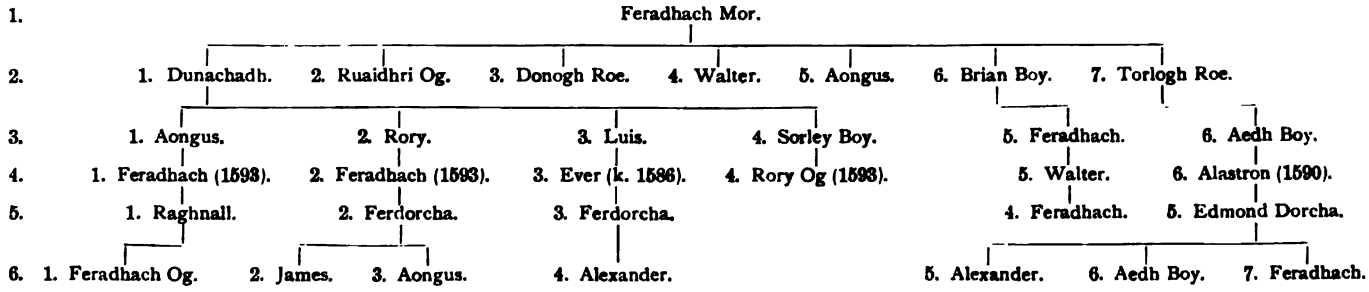
MacFirbis ignores the families settled in the barony of Kilmaine, excepting the sons of Caher Balbh, son of Marcus, son of Aongus the Abbot, whose pedigree is not given. The English records connect Marcus Mac an Ab with the castles of Moyla and Togher, and his sons with those of Togher and Lissatava. Unless "Mac an Ab" was a nickname, this Aongus should be the Eneas MacDonnell, Abbot of Cong, who surrendered the Abbey at the Reformation.

Justin, son of Maelmuire, son of Felim, is ignored. He was head of the clan of Aedh Boy, whom I take to have been Feradhach Mor's brother, Aedh Boy, who was killed in 1467 with three brothers and two sons. As the families descended from Feradhach Mor are connected with other baronies, we may take those of Kilmaine to come from Aedh Boy or some other relative of Feradhach Mor. Justin was chief of the MacDonnells when he was hanged in 1586.

Feragh MacTirlagh Roe of Carrickaneady, the only MacDonnell who was a party to the Indenture of Composition, must have been a principal man of the clan. He belonged to the Tuath Truim branch. A Clan Rannell is mentioned in 1588 as living near Newport. The sons of Rannell are mentioned in pardons, two being described in 1585 as of Kloegre. This Raghnall cannot be brought into the genealogy.

Ruaidhri, ancestor of the Coogue branch, was probably a brother of Feradhach Mor and Aedh Boy.

THE CLAN DONNELL OF TIRAWLEY.

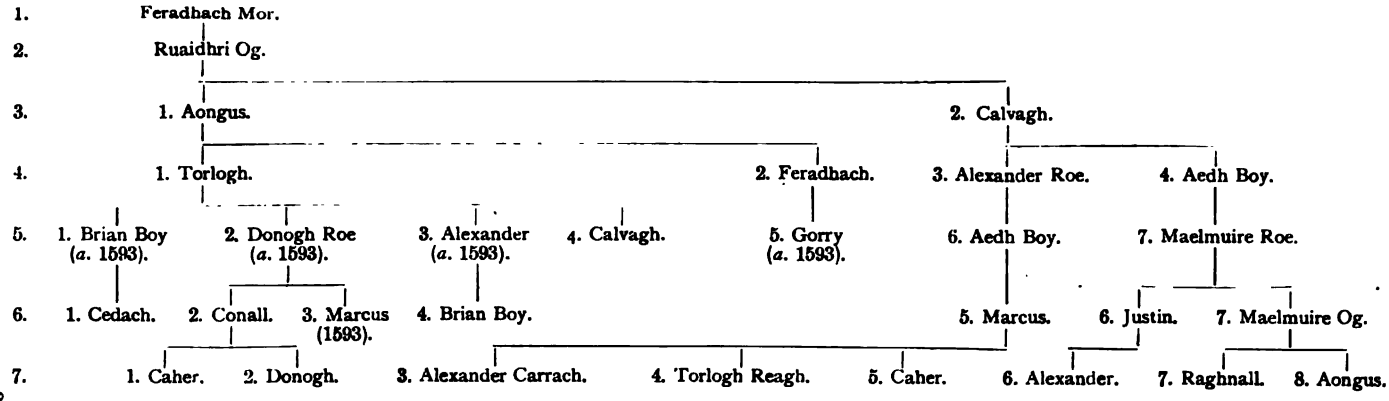


The descendants of Dunachadh were at Ballycastle, those of Brian Boy at Portnahally, those of Torlogh Roe at Rathlacken.

The daughter of Archbishop O'Kelly was mother of Feradhach Mor's sons Walter, Aongus, and Brian Boy. One Archbishop O'Kelly died in 1407, another in 1441.

From Donogh Roe the Clan Donnell of Tuath Truim.

THE CLAN DONNELL OF MAGH ULADH IN CEARA, ACCORDING TO D. MACFIRBIS.



CLAN DONNELL OF COOGUE, IN COSTELLO.

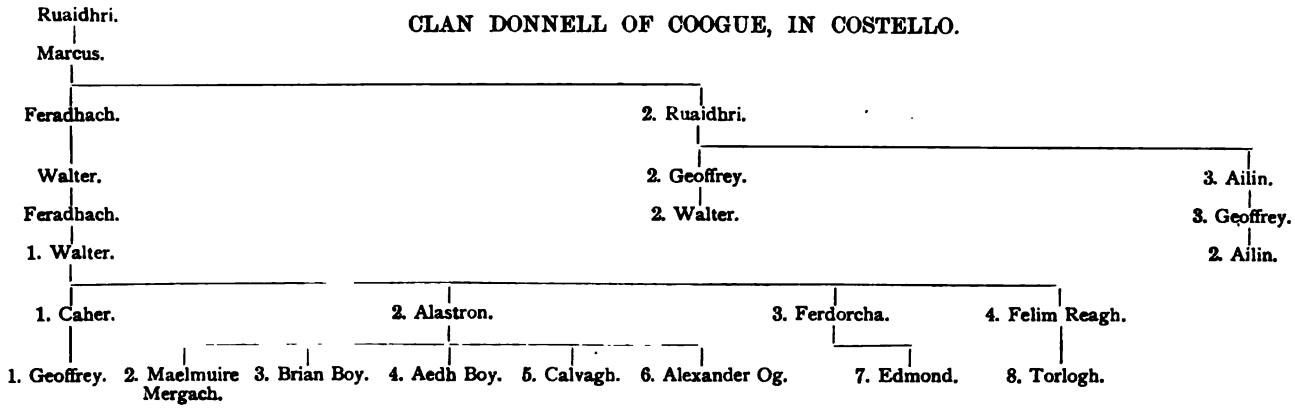
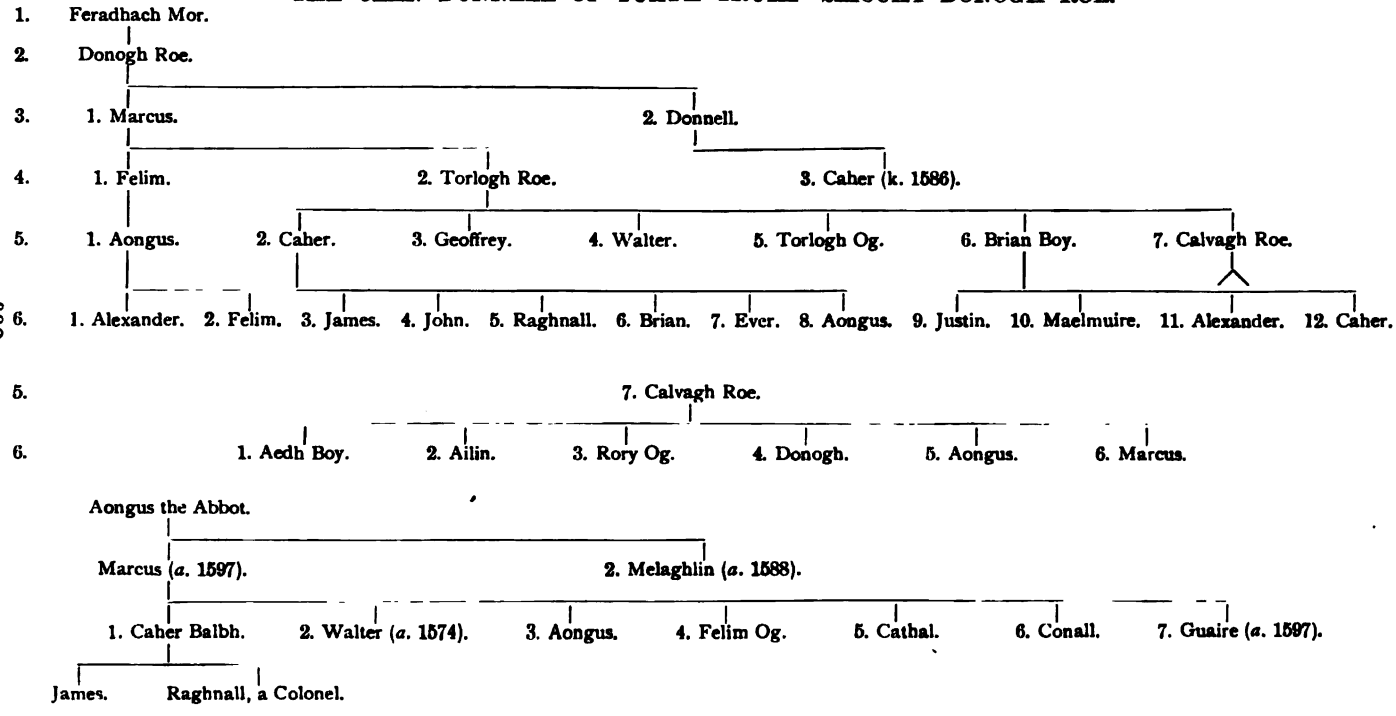


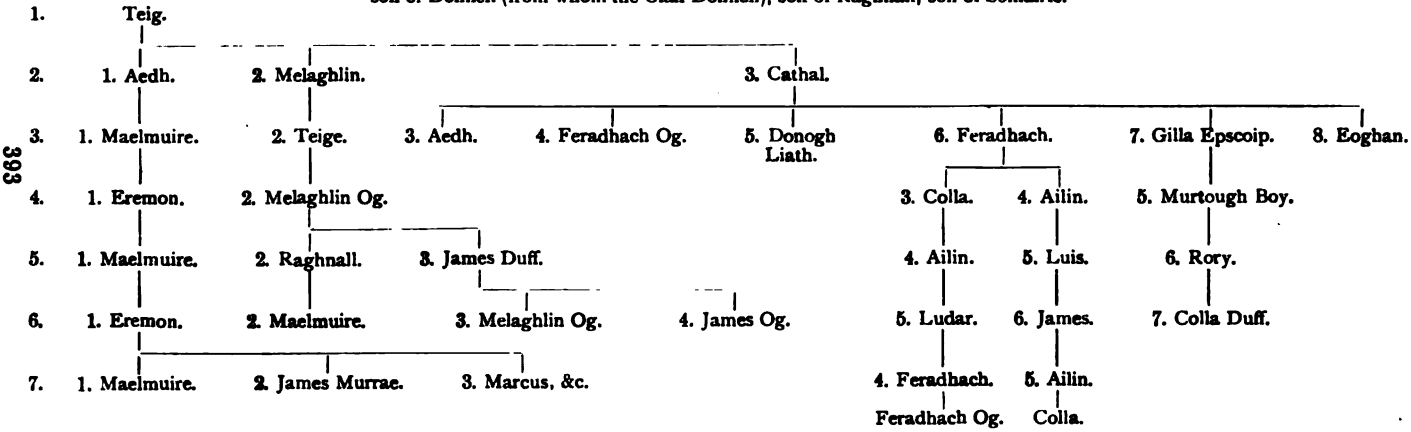
TABLE XIV. (*continued*).

THE CLAN DONNELL OF TUATH TRUIM—SLIOCHT DONOGH ROE.



THE CLAN DONNELL OF TIRERAGH.

These families trace descent from Teige, son of Manus, son of Teige, son of Gilla Duff, son of Gilla Adhamhnain, son of Alastron Og, son of Alastron Mor, son of Donnell (from whom the Clan Donnell), son of Raghnall, son of Somairle.



X.

Table I.

THE SUCCESSION OF THE MACWILLIAMS.

MacWilliam Eighter.		MacWilliam Oughter.		
Edmond I.	1340–1375	Ulick I.	d. 1353	"of Annaghkeen."
Thomas I.	1375–1401	Richard I.	1353–1387	"Og."
Walter	1401–1440	Ulick II.	1387–1424	"An Fhiona."
Edmond II.	1440–1458	Ulick III.	1424–1485	"Ruadh."
Thomas II.	1458–1460	Ulick IV.	1485–1509	"Finn."
Richard I.	1460–1469	Richard II.	1509–1519	"Og."
Richard II.	1469–1479	Ulick V.	1519–1520	
Theobald I.	1479–1503	Richard III.	1520–1530	"of Dunkellin."
Edmond III.	1503–1513	John	1530–1536	
John I.	1513–1514	Richard IV.	1536	"Bacach."
Meiler	1514–1520	Richard V.	1536–1538	"Og."
Edmond IV.	1520–1527	Ulick VI.	1538–1543	"na gCeann."
John II.	1527–	Ulick VII.	1543–1567	
Ulick	–1534			
Theobald II.	–1537			
The succession is uncertain here.				
David	–1558			
Richard III.	1558–1570			
John III.	1570–1580			
Richard IV.	1580–1583			
Richard V.	1583–1585			

Note.—Ulick I. was not called MacWilliam. Ulick VII. had no power in the country after Earl Richard Saxonagh came of age.

Table II.

RELATIONSHIPS OF THE LOWER MACWILLIAMS.

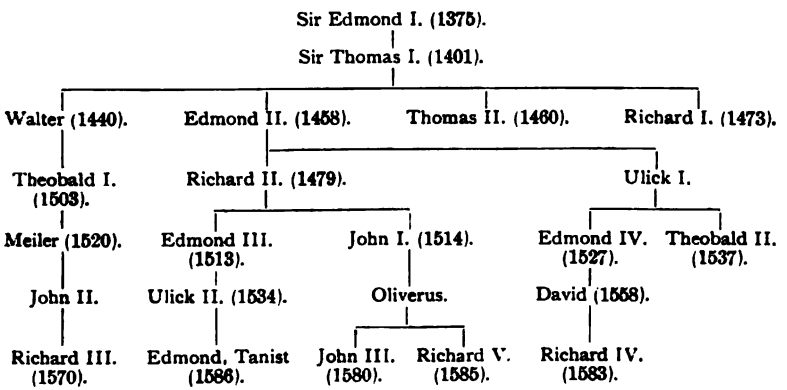
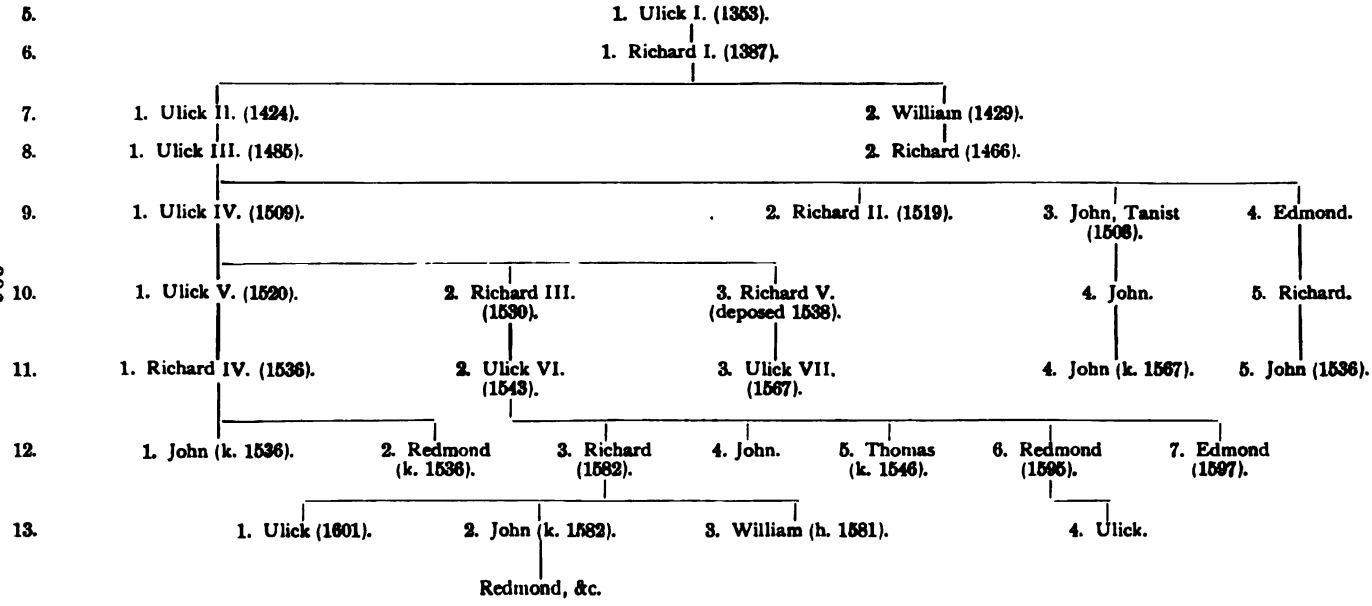


Table III.

RELATIONSHIPS OF THE UPPER MACWILLIAMS.



NOTE.—9 (4). Edmond is called "of Roscam." 9 (3). John was called John na bhfiacal of the Benn. Ulick na gCeann had brothers, Thomas Balbh and William of Dunsandle. 12 (6). Redmond is Redmond na Scuab. From 10 (3) Richard V. came the Burkes of Derrymaclaghtney.

TABLE IV.

THE CHIEF DE BURGO CLANS OF IRELAND.

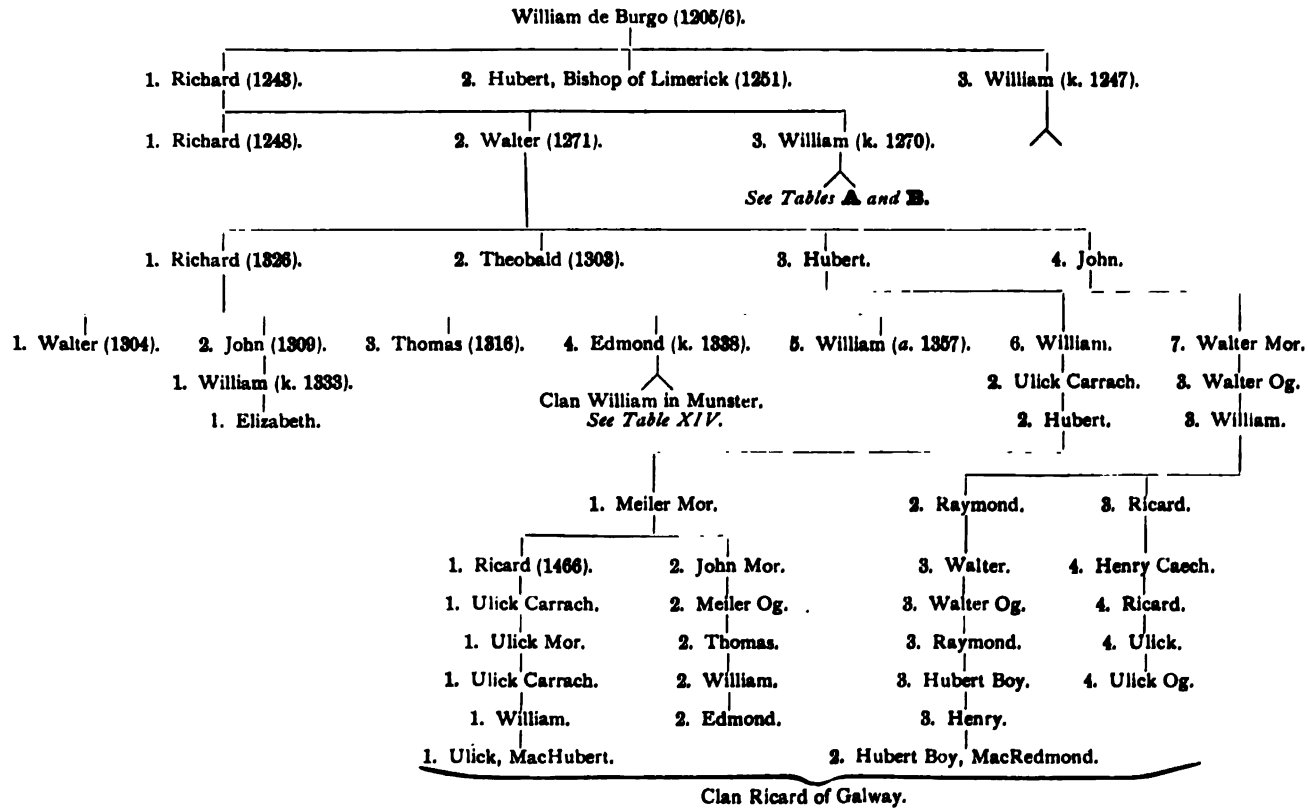
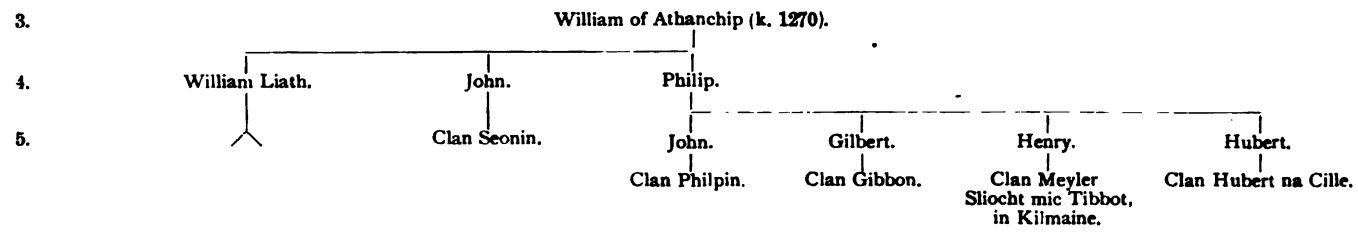
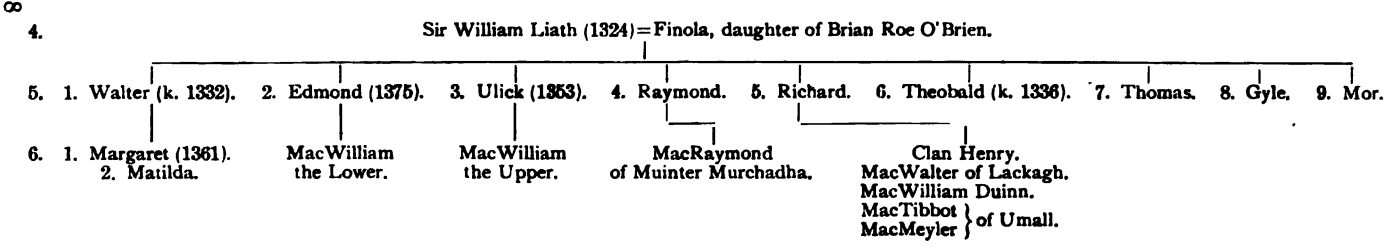


TABLE IV.—THE CHIEF DE BURGO CLANS OF IRELAND—(*continued*).

A.



B.

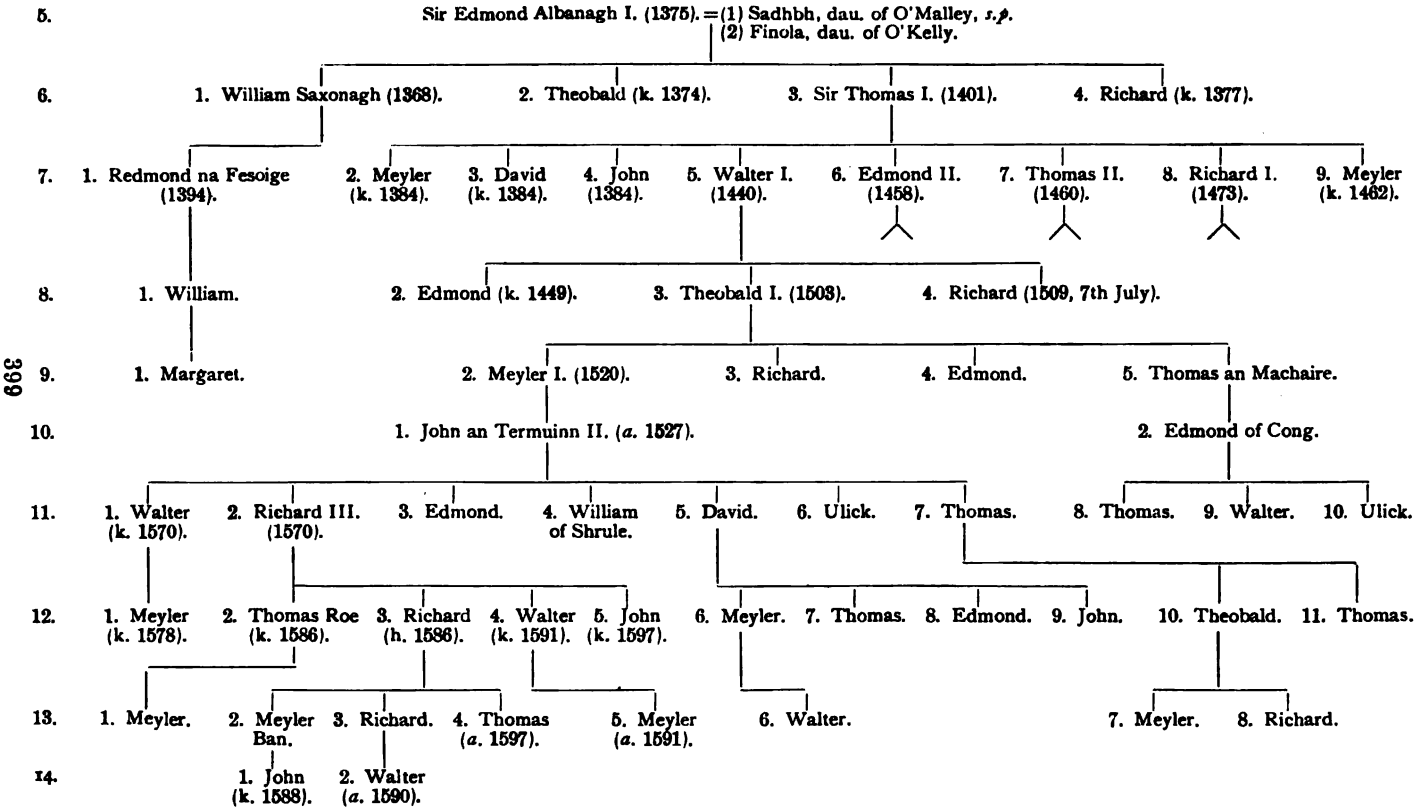


5. (7) Thomas, a priest, was Treasurer of Ireland, and held high offices 1330–1340.
(8) Gyle, m. Richard de Mandeville.
(9) Mor, m. Ruaidhri O'Kelly (chief, k. 1339) of Clann Maicne Eogain.
6. (1) Margaret, m. Aedh, K.C. of O'Conor Roe line.
(2) Matilda, m. William, son of Sir John Darcy.

NOTE.—Two sons of Sir William were killed in Leinster in 1311 (L.C.), names not recorded.

TABLE V.

DESCENDANTS OF SIR EDMOND ALBANAGH—SLIOCHT WALTER.



NOTE.—Edmund e Coggie (an Chogaidh) had sons Richard and John. He was probably 11 (3), as they owned Rathcarryn, near Cloonkerry.

TABLE VI.

THE BOURKES OF CASTLEBAR, CARRA, AND UMALL.

7. 6. Edmond na Fesoige II. (1458).

8. 1. Richard II. (k. 1479). 2. John (1438). 3. Thomas Ruadh (1449). 4. Meyler (k. 1449). 5. Walter (k. 1449). 6. Ulick I. 7. William. 8. David Duff. 9. William.

9. 1. Edmond III. (1513). 2. Ulick (k. 1494). 3. Richard Og (k. 1499). 4. John I. (k. 1514). 5. Thomas Bacach. 6. Walter. 7. Richard Mor. 8. William.

10. 1. Ulick II. (1534). 2. David Ban. 3. William.

11. 1. Edmond (h. 1586). 2. Walter. 3. Theobald. 4. John. 5. Richard.

12. 1. Richard (k. 1582). 2. David na gCapall. 3. Oliver (k. 1586). 4. Walter. 5. William. 6. Edmond Albanagh. 7. John. 8. Ulick.

13. 1. William.

14. 1. Walter.

8. 8. David Dubh is called of Gweeshadan, and is ancestor of Sliocht David Duff.

8. 9. William is called of Oilen an Chaca. = Dau. of Hugh boy MacDonnell.

11. 1. Richard. 2. John. 3. Theobald.

Oliver (k. 1586).

10. 2. David Ban = Joan, dau. of Oliver Bourke.

4. Ulick. Richard. 5. Edmond Ciocarach (k. 1586.) 6. Walter Ban. 7. Thomas (h. 1586). 8. Ambrose. 9. Meyler.

Richard, Crobergarr. Richard. Theobald Reagh.

8. 3. Thomas Ruadh.

5. Walter (k. 1449).

9. 1. Meyler.

2. William (k. 1446).

3. Edmond (1461).

5. Thomas Bacach.

10. 1. Richard.

2. Edmond Boy.

3. John na nGiusán.

4. William.

11. 1. Edmond.

2. Richard.

3. Richard Cron.

4. Walter.

5. Theobald.

6. Ulick.

7. David.

8. John an Glenna.

9. Thomas.

12. 1. David.

2. Edmond Boy.

13. 1. Ulick.

2. David.

7. Thomas II. of Moyne (1460).

8. Richard I. of Turlough (1473).

9. 7. Richard Mor.

8. Richard (k. 1469).

John.

Edmond (k. 1507).

9. William Caoch (k. 1467).

John (k. 1505).

10. 1. Ricard Og.

9. Ulick (?).

Walter (k. 1503).

10. Edmond.

Ulick Og.

John.

Theobald.

Raymond.

William.

Thomas Crosach.

11. 1. William.

11. David.

12. 1. Edmond Boy.

12. Theobald.

13. 1. Ricard Og.

13. Walter.

14. 1. Edmond Boy.

14. Theobald.

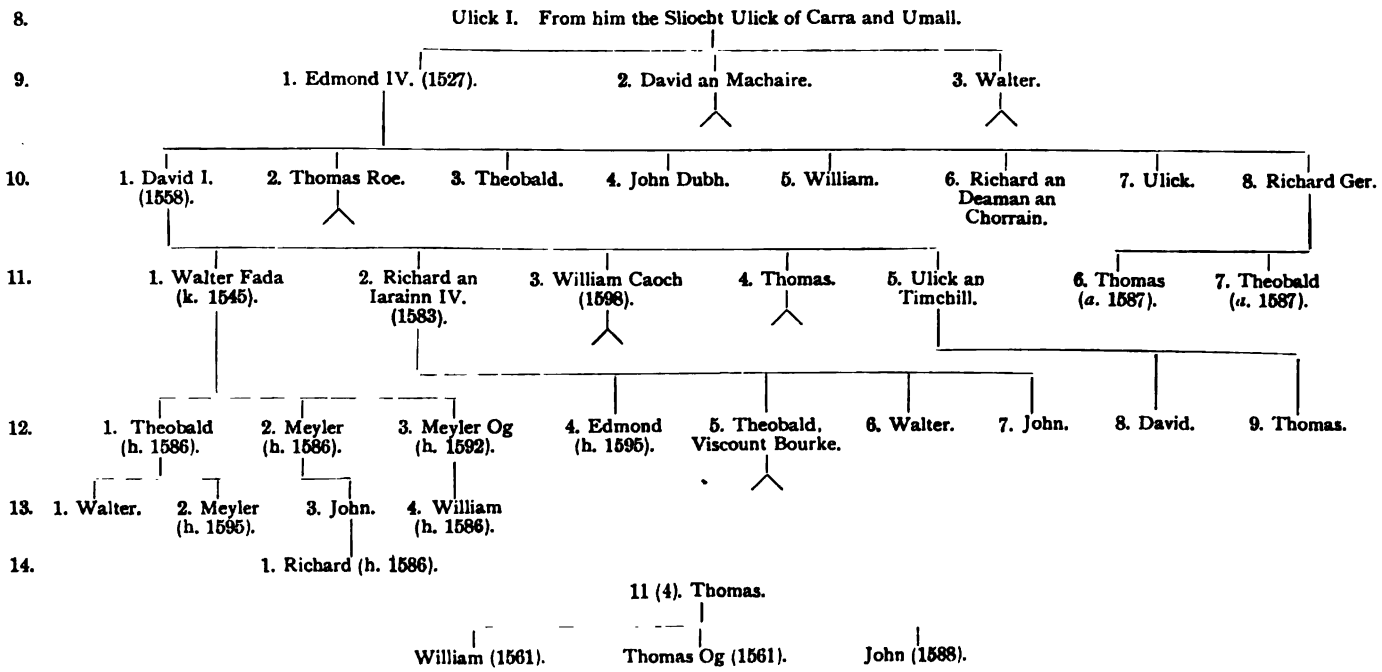
15. Richard.

16. Walter.

17. Richard.

TABLE VII.

THE SLIOCHT ULICK OF CARRA AND UMALL.



9. 2. David an Machaire. — 3. Walter (his sons were the Bourkes of Erris).

10. Richard Boy. — Walter Og. — Hubert. — Meyler. — Ulick. — Edmond Roe.

11. Oliver. — Theobald. — Ulick. — Richard. — Walter Og. — John. — Ulick. — John. — Edmond Roe. — David.

Thomas Balbh. — Oliver. — David an tSleibe. — John Og. — Edmond. — Walter.

11. 3. William Caoch, the Blind Abbot, 1598.

12. Ulick (b. 1586). — Walter (k. 1601). — Richard. — John.

9. Edmond IV. (1520 or 1521).

10. 1. Thomas Roe. — 2. Richard an Deman an Chorrain. — 3. Theobald. — 4. Ulick.

11. 1. Meyler. — 2. John Boy. — 3. William Caoch. — 4. Richard (k. 1601). — 5. Thomas Dubh. — Two sons.

12. David. — Theobald. — Edmond Boy.

Richard. — John.

NOTE.—This Thomas Roe was the senior of his race when the battle of Shrule was fought, 1570. He is, I think, the Thomas Roe of Burrisool and Ballinglen in Tirawley.

9. 6. Walter, son of Richard O'Cuairsci II. = Honora, dau. of Theobald, son of Walter of the Cloghans.

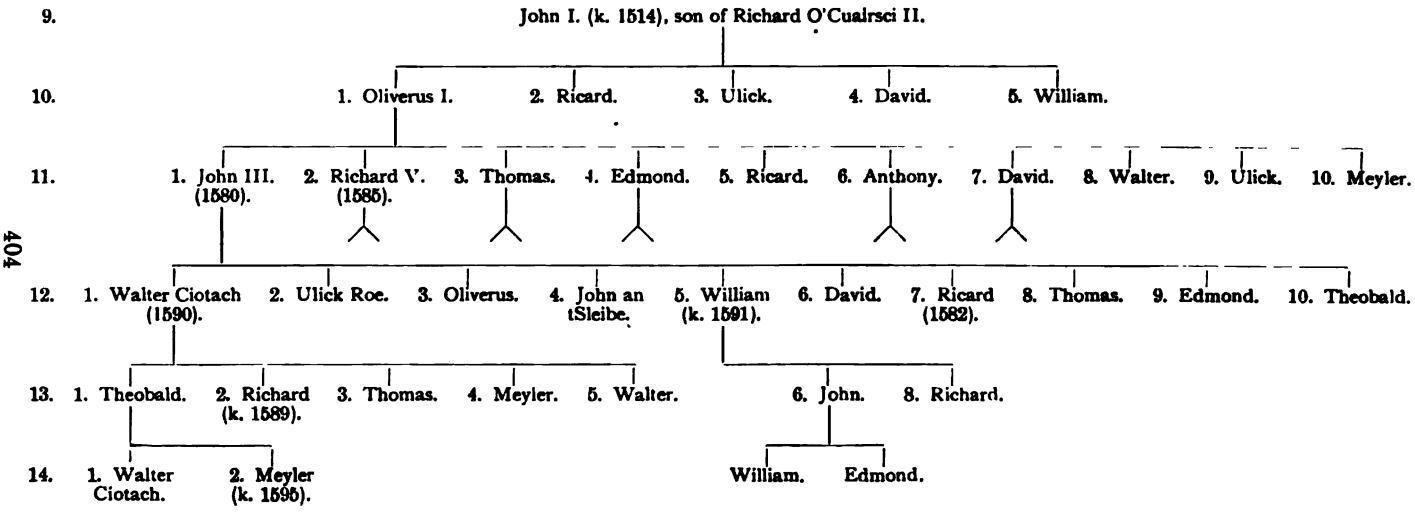
10. 1. Theobald Reagh (1545). — 2. Edmond Ciocarach. — 3. Richard (1540). — 4. William. — 5. Ulick na Tuaige. — 6. Thomas (k. 1540). — 7. Walter Og (k. 1540).

11. 1. William. — 2. Walter. — 3. Richard. — 4. William. — 5. John. — 6. Richard Og. — Edmond. — Ulick. — Meyler.

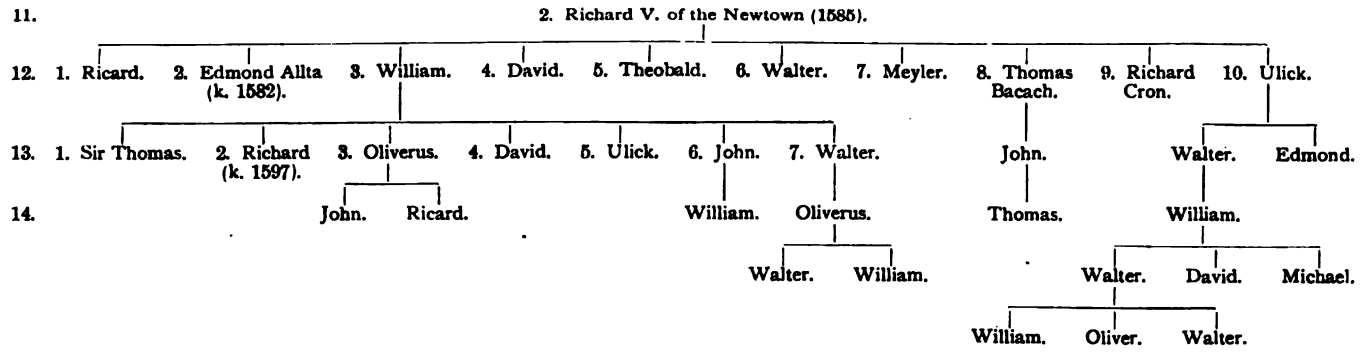
12. 1. Ulick. — Theobald. — William Connacht. — Edmond.

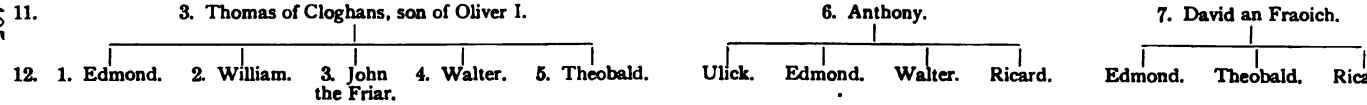
Table VIII.

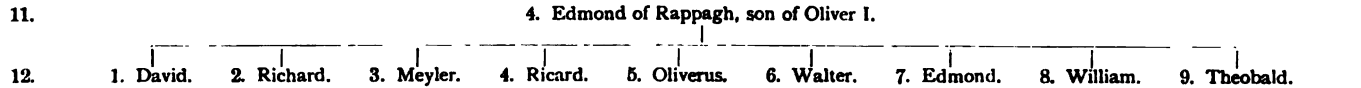
THE SLIOCHT RICAIRD OF TIRAWLEY.



NOTES.—11 (7). David an Fraoich of Castlereagh and Carrickanass.
12 (2). Ulick Ruadh of Crossmolina.
12 (3). Oliverus of Iniscoe.
12 (5). William of Ardnarea and Castlelacken.







These descents are given by MacFirbis. I do not see who Ricard and Edmond Og were.

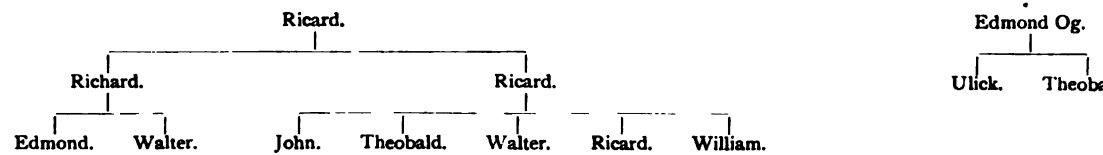


Table IX.—Clann Seonin in Kilmaine.

Taken from MacFirbis's Great Book of Genealogies.

6. John Boy (1403), son of John Midheach (1342), son of John or Seonin, son of William of Athanchip (1270).

7. 1. William. 2. The Parson.

8. Meyler. John, Archbishop of Tuam (1450).

9. 1. Richard. 2. Raymond.

10. 1. Theobald Boy. 2. Ulick. 3. Seonin Mor. 4. Edmond Boy. 5. Ricard. 6. Walter.

11. 1. Ricard. 2. Ricard Boy. 3. John. 4. Meyler. 5. Raymond. 6. Seonin. 7. David. 8. Hubert. 9. Edmond Boy. 10. Uadach.

12. 1. Theobald Boy. 2. Raymond. 3. Richard. 4. Ricard. 5. Hubert. 6. Ulick. 7. Meyler. 8. David. 9. Richard.

13. 1. Ricard Og. 2. Edmond Uainne. 3. John. 4. Ulick Carrach. Redmond. 10. 3. Seonin Mor.

14. Seonin. Edmond. Richard. Richard. Meyler.

10. 4. Edmond Boy. Richard. David. Meyler Og.

11. Ulick. Ulick. Raymond. Richard. William Uainne. Seonin. Raymond. Hubert.

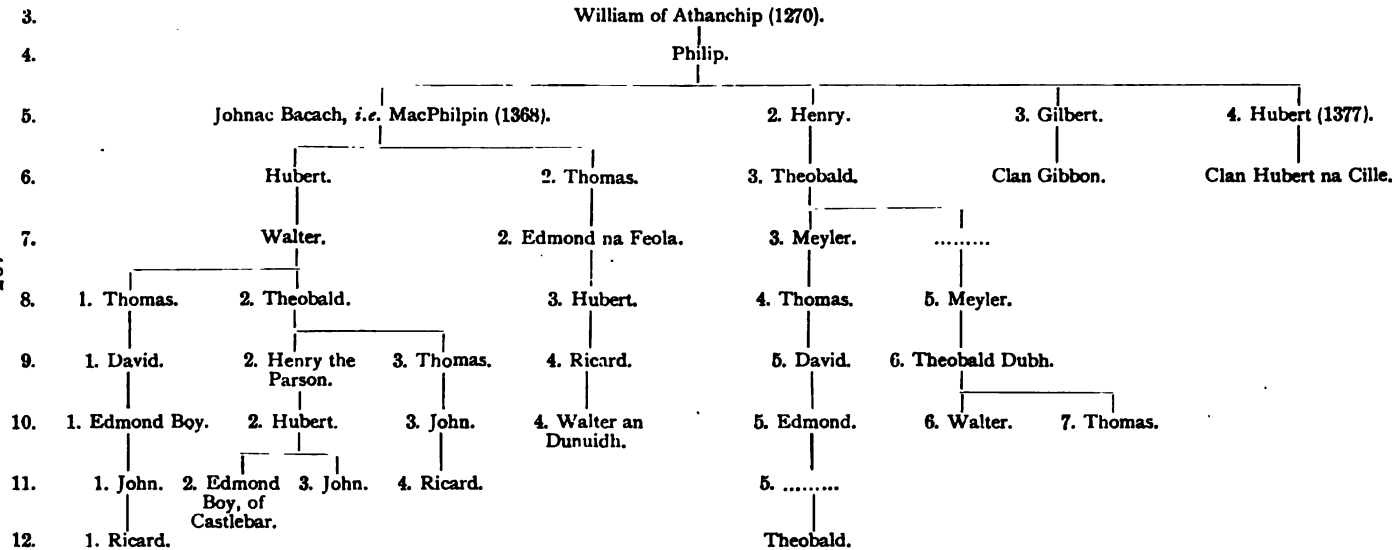
12. Thomas. John.

13. Theobald. David. Edmond. Richard. John. Ricard. Walter. Ulick. Hubert. Ricard. Theobald. John. William Uainne.

Descendants of (9, 1) Richard were called Sliocht Ricaird MicMaoilir.
Descendants of (10, 4) Edmond Boy were called Sliocht Eamuinn MicRemuinn.

Table X.

CLANN PHILIP OF MAYO.

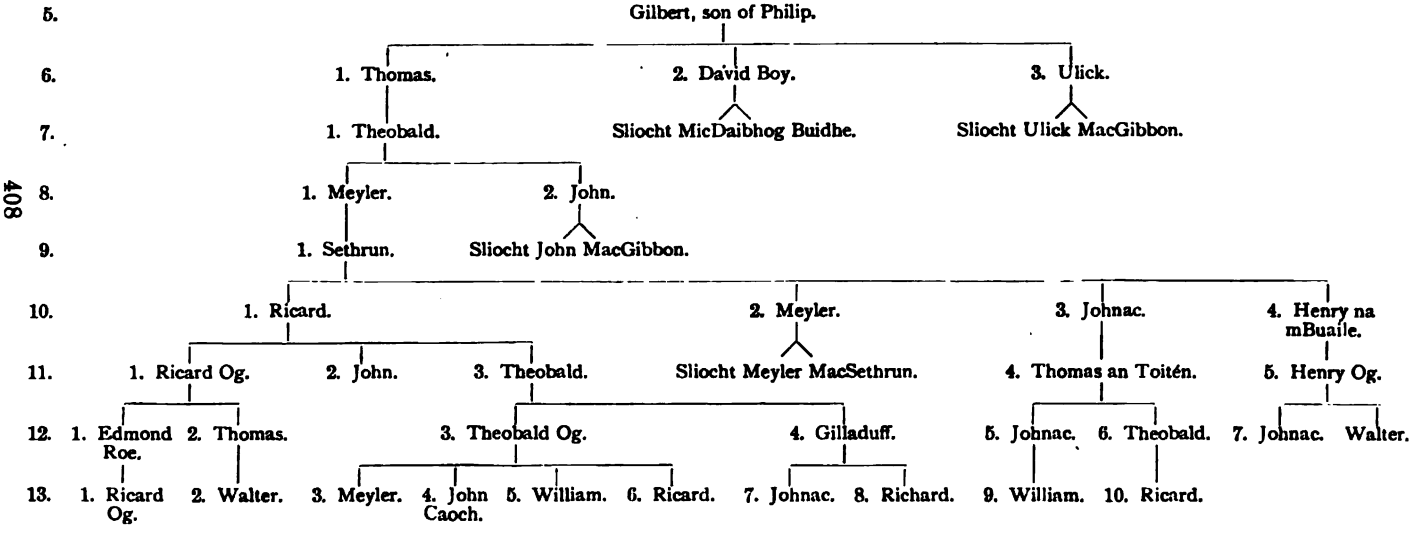


The descendants of (5, 2) Henry are the Clann Maoilir na hElle and the Sliocht Mhic Tioboid na Criche. I cannot ascertain more of their genealogy, except what appears under the notes on the barony of Kilmaine. The blanks are illegible names.

I have found no other mention of the Clann Hoiberd na Cille, and have no idea where they lived.

TABLE XI.

THE CLAN GIBBON OF UMALL.



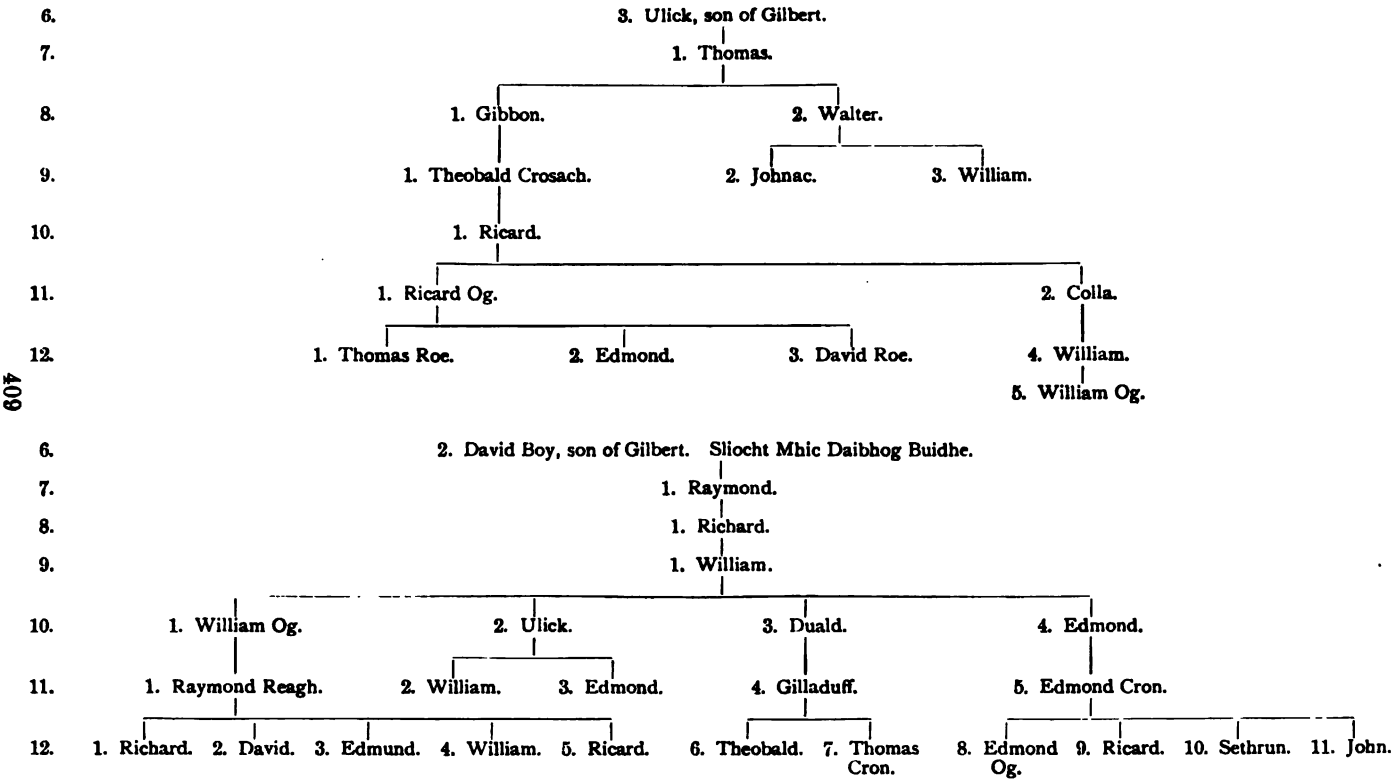
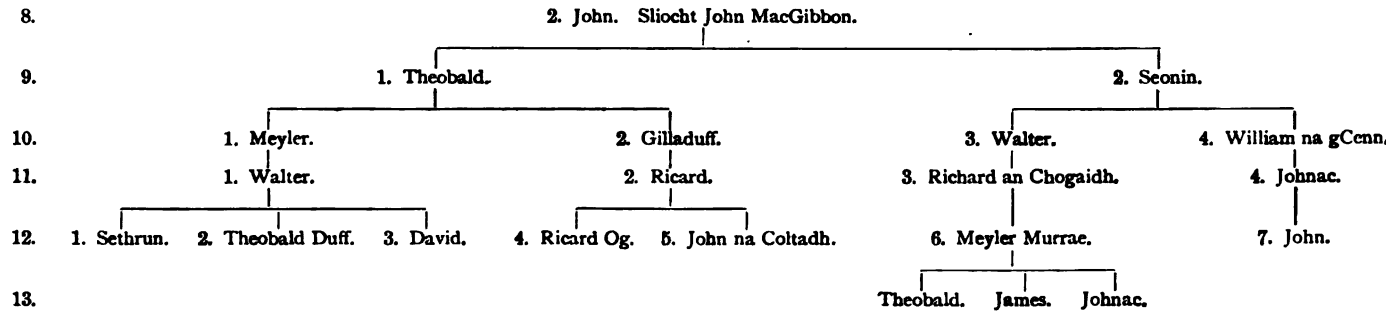
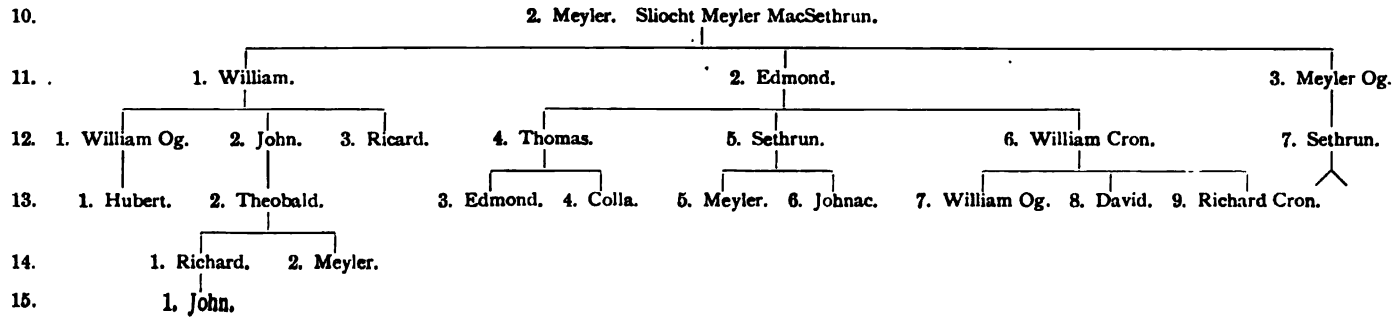

6. 3. Ulick, son of Gilbert.
7. 1. Thomas.
8. 1. Gibbon. 2. Walter.
9. 1. Theobald Crosach. 2. Johnac. 3. William.
10. 1. Ricard.
11. 1. Ricard Og. 2. Colla.
12. 1. Thomas Roe. 2. Edmond. 3. David Roe. 4. William.
5. William Og.
6. 2. David Boy, son of Gilbert. Sliocht Mhic Daibhog Buidhe.
7. 1. Raymond.
8. 1. Richard.
9. 1. William.
10. 1. William Og. 2. Ulick. 3. Duald. 4. Edmond.
11. 1. Raymond Reagh. 2. William. 3. Edmond. 4. Gilladuff. 5. Edmond Cron.
12. 1. Richard. 2. David. 3. Edmund. 4. William. 5. Ricard. 6. Theobald. 7. Thomas Cron. 8. Edmond Og. 9. Ricard. 10. Sethrun. 11. John.

TABLE XI.—(*continued*).





12. 7. Sethrun.

13. 1. Johnac. 2. Ricard. 3. John. 4. Edmond. 5. William. 6. Sethrun.

14. 1. Gilladuff. 2. Sethrun. 3. Ricard.

15. 1. Ricard. 2. Meyler. 3. Ricard. 4. Edmond. 5. Meyler. 6. John. 7. John. 9. Walter. 10. Edmond. 11. Thomas.

TABLE XII.

SLIOCHT ULICK OF UMALL.

5. 1. Richard, son of Sir William Liath.

6. 1. Ulick (1343).

7. 1. David (1352). 2. Henry (1359). 3. William (1372). 4. Theobald (k. 1377). 5. Meyler. 6. Thomas.

8. Edmund. ? — Clan Henrys and MacWilliam Duinn in barony of Dunkellin.

David (k. 1396). MacTibbot of Umall.

William. Richard. Edmond. Theobald. William MacMeyler of Umall.

Walter. Richard. Meyler. Johnac. Henry. Meyler MacWalter of Ballinduff.

TABLE XIII.—CLANN DAVID AND CLANN WALTER OF CORCAMOE.

2. William the Sheriff (k. 1247), son of William de Burgo (1205–6).

3. 1. William Finn (1287). 2. Sir Hubert Donn (*a.* 1300). 3. Raymond (1271). 4. John Mor. 5. Richard Finn (k. 1270).

4. 1. Sir David Donn (1329). 2. Walter. 3. Hugo. 4. John.

5. 1. Hubert (1354). 2. William (k. 1347). 3. John Ruadh (1347). 4. Walter (1377). 5. Meyler. 6. Ricard.

6. 1. Edmond. 2. John (1389). 3. Ricard. 4. John. 5. David.

7. 1. David (1385). 2. John Boy. 3. Hubert (k. 1400). 4. John. 5. Geoffrey. 6. John.

8. 1. William (1419). 2. Ricard (1406). 3. John (k. 1406). 4. Thomas (k. 1408). 5. Meyler. 6. Edward. 7. Hubert. 8. Thomas.

9. 1. Edmond. 2. Henry (1452). 3. Hubert (1463). 4. Ricard. 5. Johnac. 6. Johnac.

10. 1. David. 2. William (1504). 3. Thomas (1504). 4. Meyler. 5. Thomas.

11. 1. Thomas (1536). 2. Henry Boy (1541). 3. David. 4. John. 5. Ulick. 6. Edmond. 7. Johnac.

12. 1. William (1561). 2. Thomas Og (1562). 3. Thomas. 4. Edmond. 5. Henry (k. 1547). 6. Theobald (k. 1547). 7. William. 8. Meyler.

13. 1. Hubert Boy (1584). 2. Henry (1586). 3. David. 4. William. 5. David. 6. David an S. 7. Hubert Boy.

14. 1. Hubert (h. 1595). 2. Fiach (1601). 3. Edmund. 4. Thomas Og.

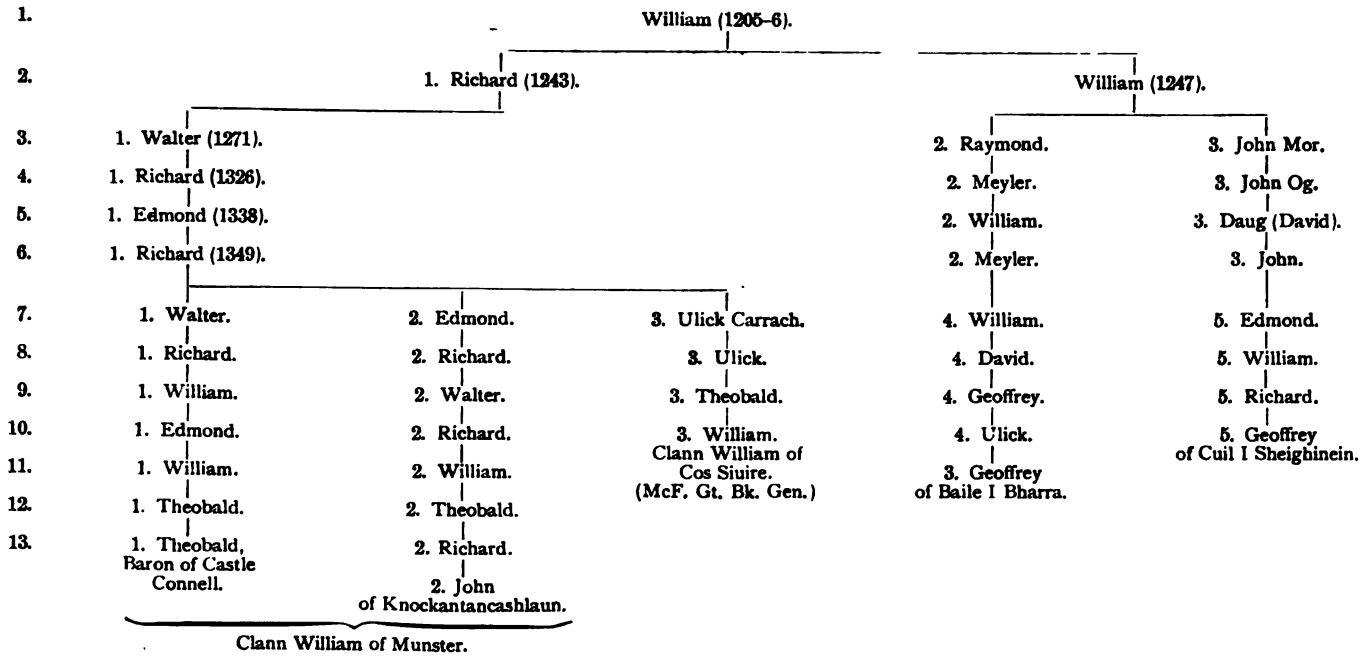
15. 1. David.

Lt. John Eruisioch, living in Dun Nell, 1664.

NOTE.—Richard Finn's sons Hugo and John are taken from O'Ferrall's "Linea Antiqua," which calls Hugo's descendant MacHugo. MacHugo, MacOwge, is found in Co. Galway in the sixteenth century. But this descent is probably incorrect. A Hugo appears connected with Sir Hubert in 1295 (Cal. Just. Rolls). Regarding Clann Walter, see *Jl. Gal. Arch. and Hist. Soc.*, vol. i. p. 124.

TABLE XIV.

BURKES OF MUNSTER.

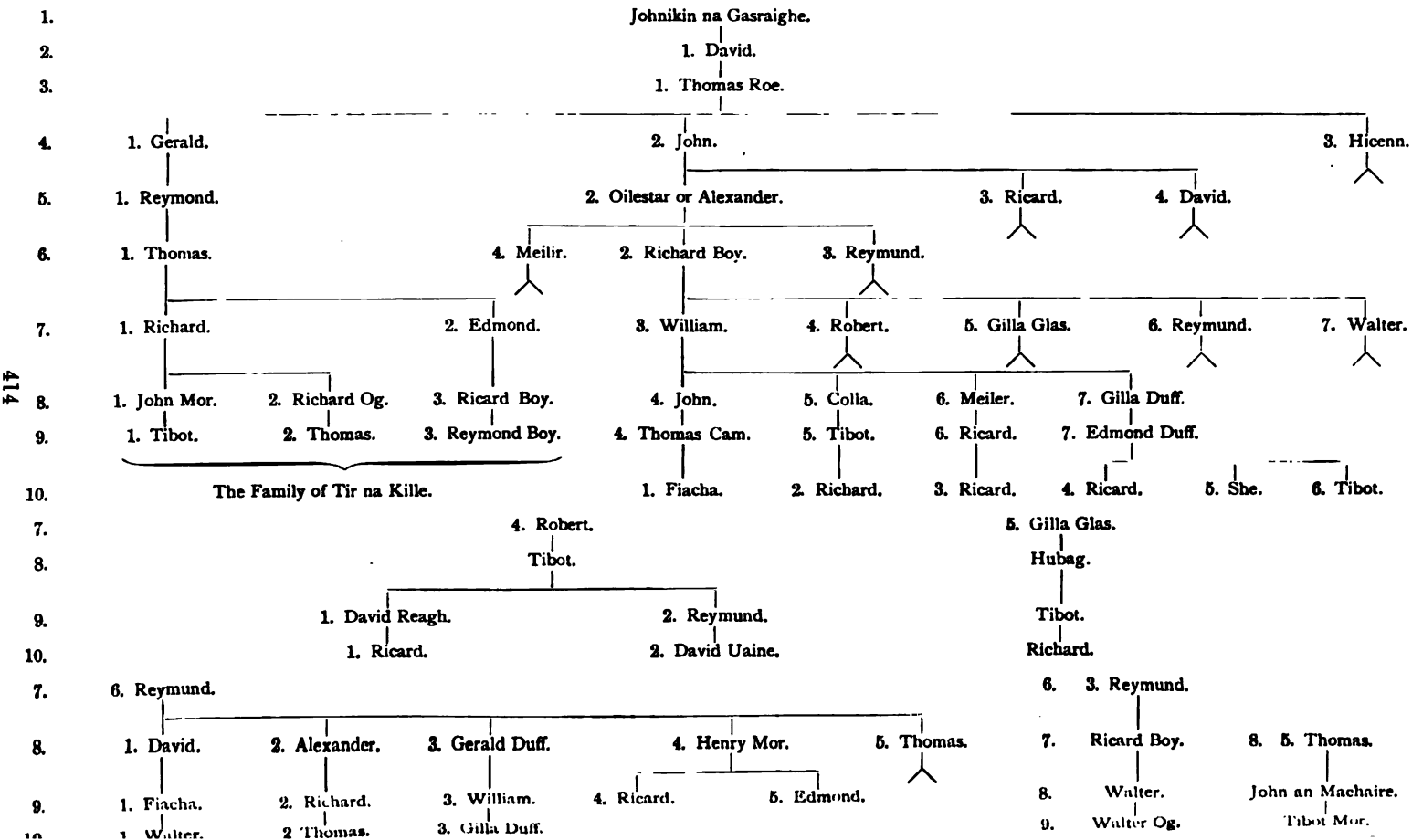


NOTE.—(3, 2) Raymond and (3, 3) John are taken from the O'Mulconaire fragment. Daug's descendants formed five clans settled in Clanwilliam of Co. Limerick.

The Burkes descended from Earl Richard had the baronies of Clanwilliam in Limerick and Tipperary. Their chief was called MacWilliam. The Justiciary, Plea, and Pipe Rolls of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century show names of many Burkes who cannot be placed in these skeleton genealogies.

TABLE XV.—THE JOYS OF THE BARONY OF ROSS, ACCORDING TO MACFIRBIS.

The Genealogy traces all these Joys from "Joy," son of Sir David, son of the King of Wales, whose son was Johnikin na Gasraighe—that is, of the company of soldiers, or of the heroes. He is probably an authentic ancestor. Thomas Ruadh, his son, should be the man from whom the head of the tribe took the title of MacThomas.



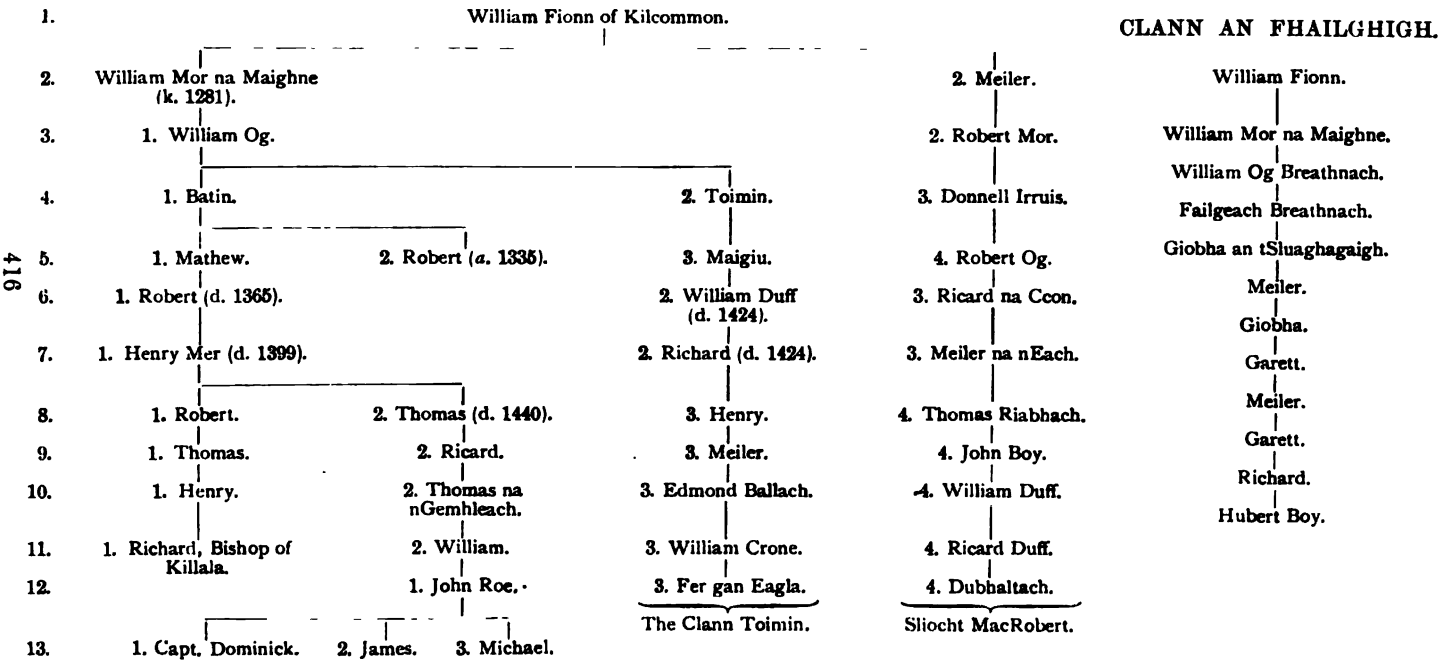
4.	2. John.						
5.	2. Alexander.	3. Ricard.					4. David.
6.	1. Meiler.	2. Bernard.				3. Gilla Duff.	4. Reymund.
7.	1. Johnikin.	2. Thomas.	3. Rory.	4. Donogh.	5. Ricard.	6. William.	7. Robert.
8.	1. Thomas Boy.	2. Walter Boy.	3. Ailin.	4. Tibot.	5. Robert.	6. Robert.	7. Thomas.
9.	1. Henry Dorcha.	2. Walter Og.	3. William.	4. Edmond Boy.	5. Tibot.	6. Reymund.	7. Henry Mor.
10.	1. Thomas Boy.		2. John.		3. Ricard.	4. Robert.	5. Edmond Avrea.
11.							Thomas.

THE SLIOCHT WALTER.

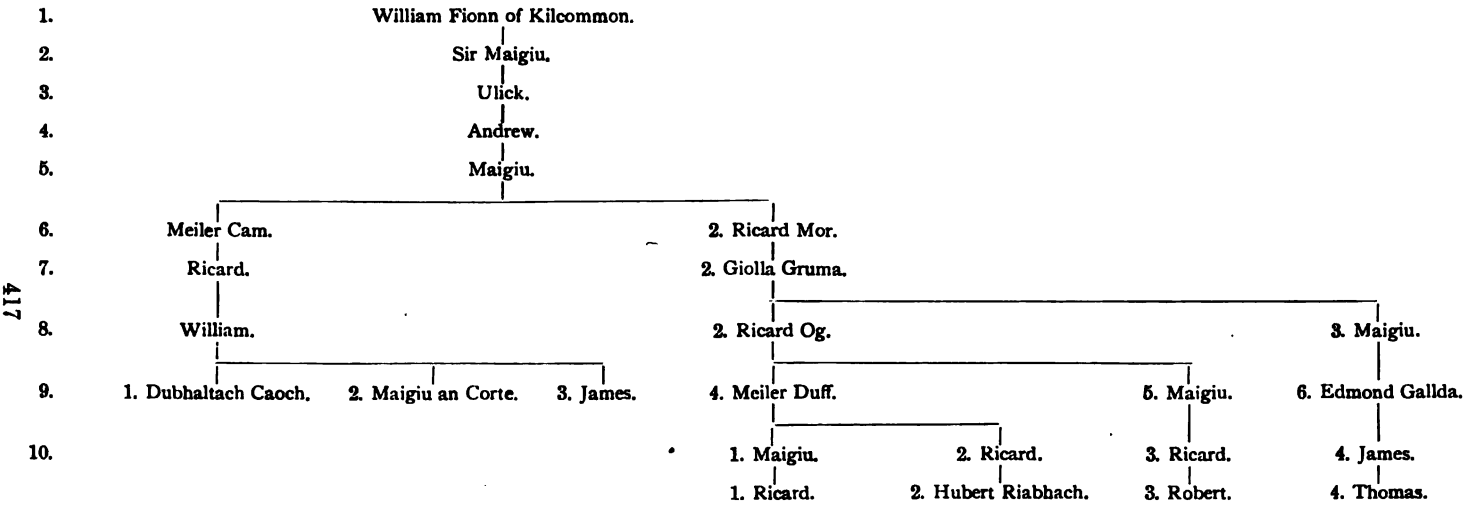
1.	1. Johnikin na Gasraighe.					
2.	1. Johnikin.	David.	7.	7. Walter.		
3.	1. Thomas.	Thomas Rce.	8.	Edmond.		John.
4.	1. William.	Hicenn (=Higgin).	9.	Ulick.	Tibot Boy.	Richard. / Walter Og.
5.	1. Johnikin.	William.	10.	Ulick Og.	Henry an Ghuala.	John. / Edmond.
6.	1. William.	Thomas.	11.	Thomas.		Ulick.
7.	1. Thomas Cam.	William.				
8.	1. Thomas Og.	Henry.				
9.		Ricard.				
10.		Hicenn.				
11.		Ricard.				
12.		Richard.				
13.		Henry.				

Table XVI.

BARRETT GENEALOGIES ACCORDING TO MACFIRBIS.



CLANN ANDRIU OF THE BAC (MACFIRBIS).

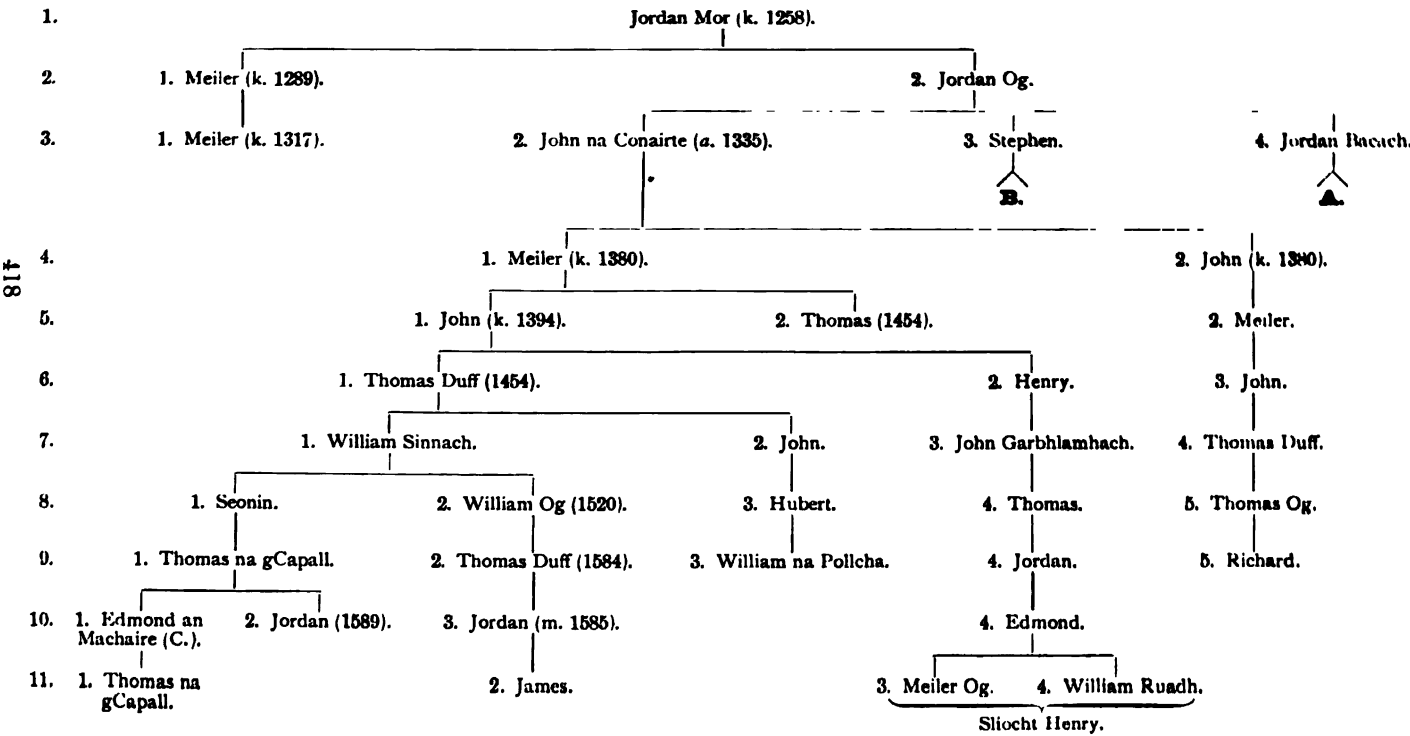


NOTE.—1. MacFirbis says that some say that William Fionn of Kilcommon is the same as William Mor na Maighne, who is also called William Breatnach. 2. Na Maighne may mean "Of the Wound." 3. It is quite possible that William of Kilcommon was father of Batin, and that William na Maighne was father of William Og. 4. I have given the genealogy as MacFirbis gives it. The dates assigned to those who have been identified show how inaccurate and imperfect it is. 5. Batin's son Robert, who was alive in 1335, may be the Robert who was Seneschal and who died in 1365. Henry, captain of his nation, was Seneschal in 1390. 6. A William and his brother Philip were killed at Athlethan in 1316. Former may be William Og. 7. Donnell of Erris is an error arising probably from a record of death of MacRobert of Dun Donnell of Erris. See A.U. 1386.

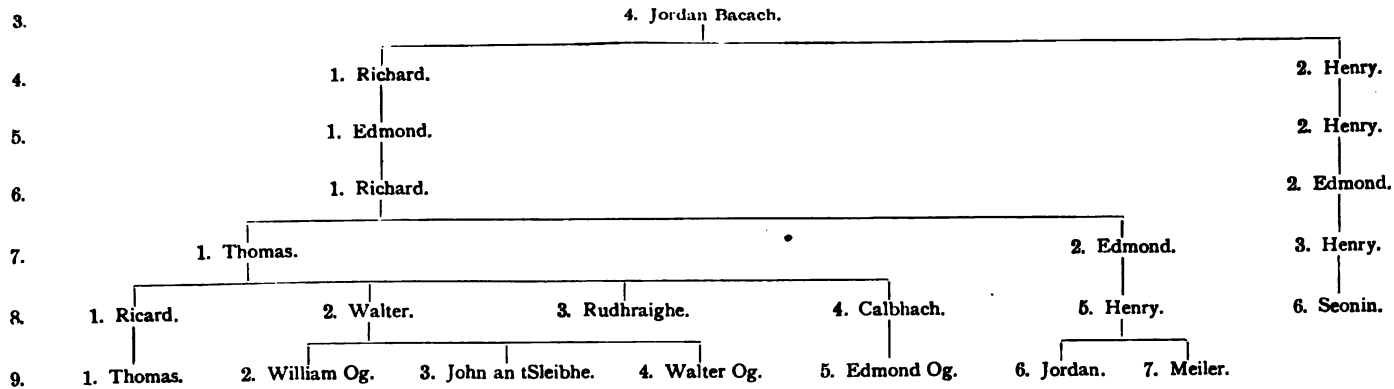
Table XVII.

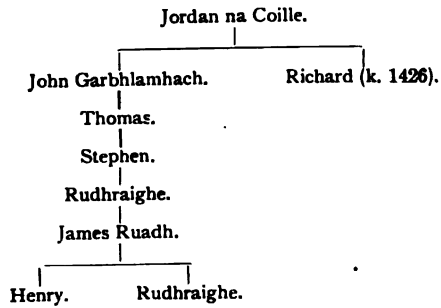
GENEALOGY OF CLANN SIURTAIN GAILENG, ACCORDING TO MACFIRBIS,

With Additions from the Annals and the English Records.



A.





NOTE.—MacFirbis does not say where Jordan na Coille comes in. I have added Richard from the Annals. "MacJordan na Coille" was probably a title of the head of Sliocht Henry, in which case Henry was himself MacJordan na Coille.

B.

CLAN STEPHEN OF GALLEN AND RATHFRAN.

ACCORDING TO D. MACFIRBIS.

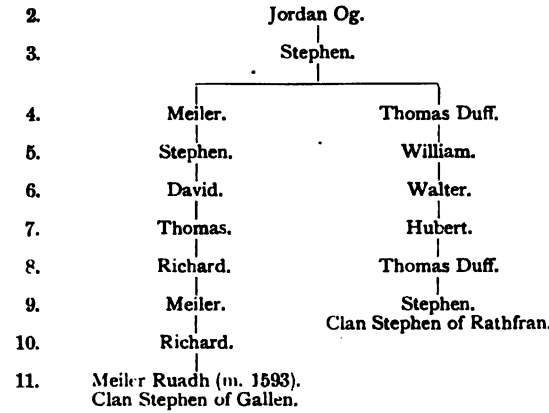
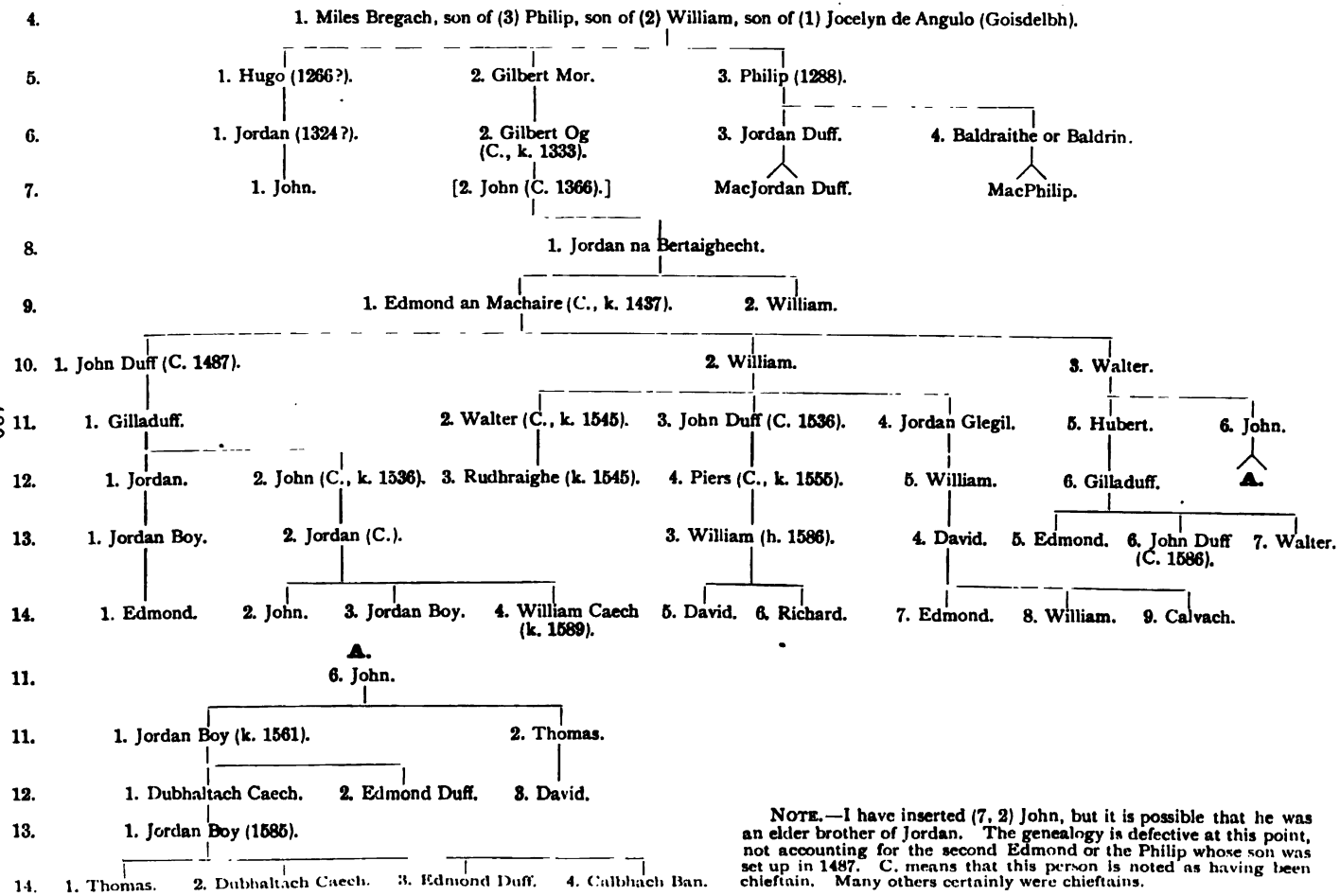


TABLE XVIII.—GENEALOGY OF CLANN GOISDELBH, ACCORDING TO D. MACFIRBIS, WITH ADDITIONS FROM THE ANNALS AND THE ENGLISH RECORDS.



NOTE.—I have inserted (7, 2) John, but it is possible that he was an elder brother of Jordan. The genealogy is defective at this point, not accounting for the second Edmond or the Philip whose son was set up in 1487. C. means that this person is noted as having been chieftain. Many others certainly were chieftains.

DESCENDANTS OF PHILIP, SON OF MILES BREGACH.
MacJordan Duff and MacPhilip of the Letter.

5. Philip (1288).

6. Jordan Duff. — Baldraithe or Baldrin.

7. 1. Tomac an Giolcaigh. 2. John. 3. Milo (k. 1367). — 4. Philip. Maidiuc (k. 1336).

8. 1. William. 2. Johnac (k. 1367). — MacPhilip.

9. 1. John Boy. 2. Walter.

10. 1. Walter Boy. C. (*See next page.*)

11. 1. Henry. 2. Seonin. 3. William. 4. Edmond an Gadhrach.

12. 1. Meiler Ruadh. 2. Milo. 3. Walter Fodhbtha. 4. Thomas Duff. B.

13. 1. Jordan. 2. John. 3. Rudhraidhe. 4. William. 5. Walter. 6. Miles.

14. 1. William (k. 1589). 2. William. 3. Hubert Roe. 4. Richard. 5. Ricard Boy. 6. Edmond Dorcha. 7. Walter Fodhbtha. 8. Jordan. 9. Calbhach. 10. Edmond. 11. William Caech. 12. Ferganainm.

B.

12. 4. Thomas Duff.

13. 7. Walter Caech. 8. Hubert Riabhach. 9. Cahir. 10. Conn. 11. Edmond Og.

14. 13. Meiler Boy. 14. Conall. 15. Ulick. 16. Thomas Duff. 17. Anthony (k. 1590). 18. Richard Boy. 19. Dubhaltach. 20. .....

1. John na Muaidhe. 2. Calvach.

TABLE XVIII.—(*continued*).

C.

9. 2. Walter.
10. 1. John Boy.
11. 1. William.
12. 1. Hubert. — 2. Meiler Boy.
13. 1. Richard. — 2. Ulick Ruadh. — 3. Hubert Bacach.
14. 1. Calvach Ruadh. — 2. Dubhaltach Ruadh. — 3. Meiler Caech. — 4. Conn.
15. 1. Richard. — 2. John Caech. — 3. Ulick. — 5. Conn Og.

MACPHILIP OF LETTER.

6. Baldraithe or Baldrin.
7. 1. Philip. — 2. Maidiuc (k. 1336).
8. 1. Milo. — 2. David (k. 1337).
9. Thomas Ruadh.
10. James.
11. William.
12. Walter Caech.
13. Gilladuff.
14. Philip.
15. Gilladuff.
16. Philip.

NOTE.—The name MacPhilip is taken from the son of Baldraithe.

NOTES ADDED IN THE PRESS.

THE coat-of-arms on cover and title-page is that described on p. 351, used thus as the general coat of the Bourkes of Mayo, to whose power the county owes its form. See *Jl. of the Galway Arch. and Hist. Soc.*, III. p. 58.

The frontispiece shows the war-dress of a chieftain in the West of Ireland in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries or earlier. The quilted garment showing below the mail and on the arms is a gambesson, a wadded tunic protecting from the weight of a blow as the mail protected from cutting. It represents a William Burke of the family of MacDavid. See *R.S.A.I.*, XXXVII. p. 807, and *Jl. of the Galway Arch. and Hist. Soc.*, II. p. 103.

P. 28. I am indebted to Archbishop Healy's "Life and Writings of St. Patrick" for St. Patrick's route from Kilmullen to Kilmaine, and for the identification of Stringill's Well, erroneously given in my "Notes on the Dioceses of Tuam, &c."

P. 156. The Festival of the Holy Cross in autumn is 14th Sept.

P. 191. The parts of Malbie's letter marked by inverted commas are not all full transcripts, but condensed in parts.

P. 338. I should place this map in p. 327.

P. 358. Eyghterhyre, Iochtar Thire, is probably the part north of the river Robe.

INDEX.

THE letter h following b, c, d, f, g, m, p, t in Irish words marks the change called aspiration, and is sometimes omitted. Thus Eochaidh Muighmedhoin is the same as Eocaid Muigmedoin. Surnames and tribal names in Ua and Ui are indexed as O and Hy, except a few occurring in only one form.

Established English forms of Irish names are generally used, as Dermot for Diarmaid, Murtough for Muircheartach. But Aedh is substituted for Hugh, which is an English name.

When English families have adopted Irish surnames, those surnames are entered under the original name. De Burgo is used for the early members of that family. The form Bourke, used by them in the sixteenth century, is used for the Mayo families only, and Burke for the others.

The O'Conors are treated in clans under "O'Conor."

Pedigree, if known, is given sufficiently for reference to the genealogical tables.

The following are not indexed:—App. IV. Lists of lands in App. V. Subdivisions of baronies in App. VI. and App. VII. Lists of lands in App. VIII.

ABBREVIATIONS.

Ba. = Barony.
C. = Church.
Ca. = Castle.
P. = Parish.
Co. = County.
dau. = Daughter of.
s. = Son of.

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